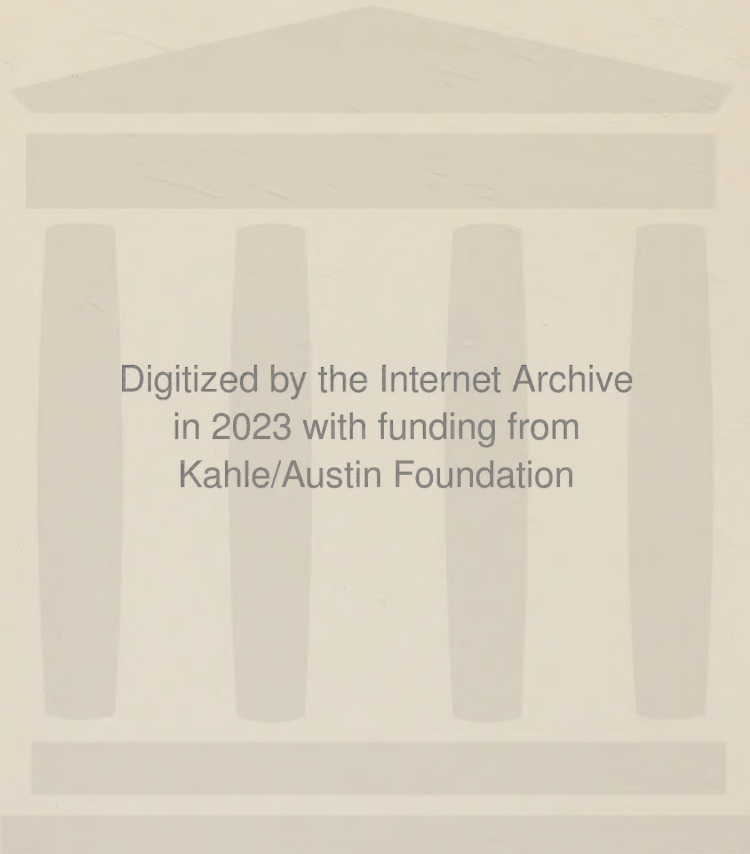


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**AMERICA
IN CIVILIZATION**

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FACTORS IN MODERN HISTORY

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AMERICA IN CIVILIZATION

Ralph E. Turner

AMERICA IN CIVILIZATION

DESIGNED AS A TEXT-BOOK FOR COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY
USE IN COURSES INTRODUCING STUDENTS
TO LIFE

by Ralph E. Turner

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH



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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To my Father and Mother

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PREFACE

In recent years educators have agreed that there is a need for a fuller recognition on the part of the individual of his relations in and to society. In addition to the assertion of this need, the feeling has been expressed that the present curricula are failing to give students an organized view of the general elements in developing civilization. Consequently the social science studies in the secondary schools have been undergoing a revision and an expansion, while at the same time numerous colleges and universities have inaugurated special introductory courses designed to "orient" their incoming students.

Many books have been written for use in the secondary schools, but the collegiate instruction has been given for the most part by lectures and assigned reading based on specially prepared syllabi. The present volume frankly represents an attempt to provide a text-book for such introductory college courses.

Its primary aim is to introduce the student to life as life has been disclosed by the natural and social sciences; to make him conscious of his relations to other people in society; and also to indicate to him how these relations happen to be as they are, and what the processes and forces affecting them may be. Incidentally, since the materials likely to accomplish this result have had to be taken from many special fields of knowledge, it is believed that the book will serve the secondary purpose of providing a brief introduction to such special work as the student may later undertake. In rendering this service, moreover, it is hoped that the book will afford some relief for the present-day tendency toward too early specialization; and that it will enable those who do specialize to comprehend, after their advanced work is done, the relation of their own special studies and activities to human life as a whole. Finally, from the recognition of his relations in and to society and from the comprehension of his own function in the general social process, it is possible that the student may develop for himself the sympathy and understanding which are so necessary to the peaceful and fruitful activities of life, both individual and social. To enable the student to see life in its entirety in order that he may live it more knowingly, is the fundamental purpose of the book.

In selecting and organizing the materials the author has kept

in mind three points of view, namely, the social, the psychological, and the historical. The whole treatment aims to exhibit the life of man as a social phenomenon. The persisting forms and present phases of this phenomenon, however, are found in the psychical nature of man. The historical development of social relationships accounts for their present forms and in them serves to explain the contents of the lives of living men.

Both as regards the book as a whole and as regards the separate chapters, the method follows one and the same design. In each case the first object has been to make the student conscious of the activity under discussion, *i. e.*, to make him feel that it is his own life which is being described; the second object has been to show the psychological basis of the activity; the third, to indicate its historical forms—with emphasis upon those that have made distinct contributions to present life; and lastly, the object has been to exhibit the present forms of life, especially as they exist here and now in America. A persistent effort has been made to relate the whole treatment specifically to the American situation, with the general object of enabling the student to find his place in the actual life about him.

By reason of this method of treatment the book seems logically to have fallen into twelve chapters. Chapter I aims to make the student identify his concrete activity, whatever it may be, with the social life about him, to make him conscious of his existence as being inseparable from society. Proceeding with an exposition of the foundational elements of society and some description of its chief historical forms from savagery to present civilization, the chapter closes with a discussion of the methods and materials employed in the study of society. In Chapter II the aim is to arouse the student to an appreciation of the change going on around him, and to explain the processes of biological and social evolution of which this change is the concrete evidence. The processes of development by which life has been brought to its present state constitute the burden of this chapter. The next eight chapters take up, in the order named, the three chief factors in human life: the physical environment is discussed in Chapter III; man and his original nature, in Chapter IV; and the social heritage, in the following six chapters. In the discussion of the physical environment, its development and influence on the life of man are emphasized. The origin of man, the development of the great human types, and the inherited endowment of man for life are dealt with in Chapter IV. The social heritage is described under the headings: family, economic organization, education, religion, political organization, and social values. In each instance the psychological basis of these main cultural divisions is indicated, and their chief historical forms are described.

Each chapter ends with an analysis of the essential cultural departures demonstrably under way at present. The eleventh and twelfth chapters show how these three fundamental factors—physical environment, original nature, and social heritage—shape present life, first, in its individual phases, and second, in its social phases. To each individual mind these factors give a content which has its outward expression in behavior. Upon the behavior of individuals as they have contacts with one another, as they enter associations, live under institutions, and form communities, American society is organized. Within this society, activities such as interaction, competition, social control, coöperation, and collective behavior constitute a social process by which life is given two general qualities: well-being and problems. Thus at the end of the work there is posed for the student the broad question of life's tendencies: Is there progress or decay? Out of his own psychical make-up the student is given to see social relations and conditions formed, and the whole going-forward under the historical process into the future.

To each chapter are appended two reading lists. The first references are by subject and page to a certain selected list of books. These books should be available for all students, and the designated portions should be read. The second list, arranged by general headings and book titles, includes standard works on the major points discussed in the text. No attempt has been made to give an exhaustive bibliography. These general lists aim only to furnish first materials to those whose interests may carry them into special fields.

It is obvious that in such a work errors are inevitable, and certainly the author will appreciate having them called to his attention. Above all, it is patent that there has been trespassing on the sacred precincts of numerous specialists. For such trespasses the author craves indulgence, on the plea that to the specialists he owes every bit of the material he has used, and that in so poaching upon their preserves he has been inspired solely by the hope of spreading some broader understanding of life among the American people.

Since the persisting purpose of the book is to enable Americans to understand their life, it is manifest that, although the work is aimed at a specific mark in the educational world, it may have an interest for general readers. In it they will find a brief synthesis of the essential facts bearing upon civilization, society, and life in general, and, it is hoped, a little inspiration to follow special interests into some of the books which the reading lists suggest. To the adults of America the work offers a guide to the study of the place and function of the nation in the greater world of men.

R. E. T.

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AMERICA
IN CIVILIZATION

"It gives liberty and breadth to thought, to learn to judge our own epoch from the point of view of universal history, history from the point of view of geological periods, geology from the point of view of astronomy. When the duration of a man's life or of a people's life appears to us as microscopic as that of a fly and, inversely, the life of a gnat as infinite as that of a celestial body, with all its dust of nations, we feel ourselves at once very small and very great, and we are able, as it were, to survey from the height of the spheres our own existence. . . .

"At bottom there is but one subject of study: the forms and metamorphoses of the mind. All other subjects may be reduced to that, all other studies bring us back to this study."

Henri Frederic Amiel. "Journal Intimé." 1882.

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
 The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
 The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
 And leaves the world to darkness and to me."

So, too, the laborer returns from the machine, the merchant from his cases, the banker from his vaults, and the student from his books, all to the rest that allays the day's fatigue. The world is too much with the individual for any careful consideration on his part of its general attributes or its fundamental problems. For him life is of the minute, full of many and little things, engrossing, satisfying. It passes continually as a moment between a dimming past and an unknown future; and yet, in that moment is carried the whole of life, not only the present of the individual's living, but also the sum of the past and the equation of the future. In the present is preserved the past and born the future, a unity in the lives of the many, be they plowmen, laborers, merchants, bankers, or students.

**The Indi-
vidual and
Society**

If one of these asks himself the question, How does it happen that I am in this present circumstance? he will discover that any answer he may give will raise many other questions. A student reading this page may pause to inquire, Why am I reading this book? The obvious answer is, perhaps, that an instructor assigned some of its pages as part of a lesson. But how does it happen that there is an instructor? Because there is a school. And why a school? Because young people must be educated. But why are there young people, or old people, or any human beings at all for that matter? Such questions when driven to finality yield no replies. Ultimate causes, it would seem, are not for the minds of present men.

Perhaps the student's reflection deepens before the unanswerable. It is the purr of a swiftly moving automobile which awakens him to an awareness of the immediate present; but only to raise new questions: Why is there an automobile? Or why is that driver speeding? Is it for amusement, or to a sudden call of business, or to a sick bed, that he hastens? Reflection soon

discloses that the only answers which can be found to such questions are those that link the driver with other human beings.

If it is for amusement that he speeds, there may be the personal joy felt in the rushing wind and the flying landscape, exhilarating and inspiring; or there may be the sweeter satisfaction of mastery over forces—holding the car to its course smacks of the conqueror's triumph. Such personal pleasure, however, yields still greater satisfaction when the driver boasts his prowess to other drivers. Then he will measure his success in relation to that of others, and will feel either the vanity of pride or the urge of rivalry.

Men have scoured the earth for gold; and in the call of business it is gold that rides at the driver's side. Perhaps only a small gain is involved, but great dreams arise in men's minds from little things. The driver sees himself among men who point him out as "the rich Mr. So-and-so," a success in his own estimation and in the popular understanding. A sudden swerve of the car jerks him from this revery that pleases to its opposite. In the new and melancholy mood he finds a fallen place at the street's curb, and the multitude, now gaping at another rich "Mr. So-and-so," is with him. After all, the difference between success and failure in acquiring wealth is small. Riches are elusive; and it is very easy to become a "might have been."

If it is to a sick bed that he races, hope and fear, grief and happiness, run with the spinning wheels. Children may cry for a mother, property may pass to new owners, and friends may mourn the loss of a companion. Even in death there is no final parting.

Such reflection may have great value when it makes some contribution to the individual's realization of his place among others of his kind.

To the ordinary individual it appears that he is the center of existence. Experiences pour in upon him in a never-ending stream, and these experiences are known to him alone; but they nevertheless bind him to an outside world. He cannot separate himself from that world. Others may share in his life, but the sharing will be their own experience, known only to themselves. In the sharing, however, there is created the common experience which binds the individual and others in a unity of life. The individual does not live alone: he recognizes others like himself, and these others he makes a part of his life. Such reflection leads to the conclusion that the life of the individual is a web of experience woven from experiences with others like himself, and that their lives are similar webs; in fact, he must conclude that the lives of all individuals are inextricably woven into one fabric of life.

In that present which is the life of the individual, exists the

life of all other individuals, in one unity of life, social reality. "The social reality is the great and ceaseless flow of human activities, into the midst of which we are born, and of which we gradually become more and more aware, and in which we play our part."¹ This living together is called "*society*."

Society is the sum total of all relationships which exist among human beings. In his experiences man is individual, *i. e.*, he finds himself distinct from other men; in his actions, however, he is collective, *i. e.*, he has no existence separate from other men. From the latter point of view, the individual is merely a complex of reactions to other men. "A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is Human Life, which may be considered either in an individual aspect or in the social, that is to say, a general, aspect; but it is always, as a matter of fact, both individual and general. . . . A *complete* view of society would also be a complete view of all the individuals, and *vice versa*; there would be no difference between them."²

The Unity
of Indi-
vidual
and Social
Life

Reflection reveals that the individual exists only as a member of society, which means that every part of his life is a relationship with other individuals. But this revelation is only a part of the story that reflection has to tell. Let it return to the other question: Why is there an automobile? Any partial answer to the question will indicate the further trend of reflection.

That swiftly moving mechanism was possible only because some human mind had devised it. In 1893 Charles E. Duryea built and ran the first successful gasoline motor-driven vehicle in the United States. His achievement made possible that speeding car, and all other cars which add pleasure and profit, as well as an element of danger, to the lives of present men. The future was latent in a present which was evident only in the smoke and rumble of that carriage as it moved along a Massachusetts road. The invention, in turn, rested upon the accumulated knowledge, skill, and organization provided by the past. Duryea could build his "horseless-carriage" only because some one else had made a "horse-carriage," and the latter was possible because some one, some forgotten person in man's immemorial past, had contrived a "wheel." In that car which aroused the student from his reverie, were gathered the work and thought of innumerable men, dead as well as living.

Living men had dug iron and coal, sweat before steel hearths,

¹ E. C. Hayes. "Sociology and Psychology; Sociology and Geography," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIV, p. 371.

² C. H. Cooley. *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 1, 3.

molded parts in monotonous routine, tapped rubber trees in tropical forests, traced plans on fine paper, and sat in offices to direct the work of others. But dead men, what had they done to build the car? From the stuff of the earth they had taken the materials for the crafts and trades: they had discovered iron ore and the processes of its manufacture into steel; rubber and the intricacies of its transformation into tires; the making of leather, glass, and paints; and the utilization of woods. From the ancestors of man had been evolved through successive generations the skilled laborers whose hands and brains fashioned the parts and arranged them in this car. Above all else, the unnumbered dead had organized the coöperation which made it possible for many living men to contribute their work to the manufacture of the car. Reflection discovers that in the fleeting present endures the living past.

The Unity
of the
Past in
the
Present

The unity of men in society is, therefore, a unity greater than that of living men; for, indeed, does it not include the lives of all other human beings who have gone before? "The ideas which set our minds in motion, whether concerning the common things of daily life or the latest problems of religion and philosophy, were not generated by ourselves, by the individual, but arose in other minds long since dust, and have passed down to us as communal property. All that we think, feel, wish and do is through this transmission; it has become a part of our flesh and blood, through heredity and education, and has much more influence with us than the little that any man, as an individual, achieves for himself by his own intellectual worth."³

In that "flow of human activities" which is the present, move the multitudes of the past. The individual cannot separate himself from his fellows, living and dead; he moves with humanity. No race of men so lowly that its members live in isolation one from another, has ever been found. It seems that men everywhere and in all times have lived in society.

Many explanations for this universal fact of social life have been given. Society has been thought of in terms of physiology and anatomy, and so compared to a living organism with tissues and organs. Imitation, the tendency of one person to reproduce the actions of others in his own activity; suggestion, the causing others to do things merely by doing something oneself; and conflict, the striving of individuals together under the stress of danger—are among the most prominent explanations of man's universal organization into society.

The true basis, however, seems to be in the simplest act of any living thing, namely, its efforts to preserve its life under the condi-

³ F. Müller-Lyer. *The History of Social Development*, pp. 36, 37.

tions imposed by physical nature. Professor Giddings has shown how there arise from this simplest act in the lowest organisms, as it is repeated time after time without end, the reactions which finally take shape in general likenesses and differences in the behavior of such organisms. The first effect of the developing differences is to drive apart the unlike and to drive together the like. The basis of human society is laid in this huddling together of the lowest forms of life. Mere huddling produces a toleration among those living together; further mingling brings common actions in the face of similar situations. This is called "mutual aid," and results in the integration of the individuals into a coöperating activity in which each benefits by the acts of others. The animal world yields innumerable examples of this coöperation. Within such groups the communication of the need to act in certain ways becomes possible, and suggestion and imitation come into play further to organize the individual into group activities. Through communication, a group may be aroused to action by a signal from one member. The bleat of a lamb may drive a flock of sheep into a compact body, and if the danger seems great they will all run away. The squeal of a pig will arouse a drove of hogs into an angry fury; the snort of another will send them pell-mell into a wild flight. In animal societies individuals act alike but do not know that they act alike. Men not only act alike but know that they act alike. They have, as Professor Giddings expresses it, a "consciousness of kind." In this consciousness they have the capacity to name likenesses and differences, and communication becomes articulate speech. Consciousness of kind and articulate speech raise human society high above that of swarms and herds. Within human society individuals retain membership in the great group established by common human likeness, but at the same time they enter into smaller social forms based upon recognized likenesses and differences, special to different individuals according to their capacity to communicate such distinctive attributes to one another. Specialized group life is peculiarly human; society itself, however, had its origin in the huddling which was developed among the lowest organisms.

Some students have found in human nature a single and complete impulse to social activity, "the herd instinct" or "gregariousness"; both designations are only names for the fundamental sociability developed by the huddling of the lower organisms, and therefore both indicate man's own tendency to live with others of his kind. Whether this tendency is innate, *i. e.*, a permanent and inheritable element in the human organism, or is derivative, *i. e.*, an acquired response shaped by the earliest experience of the in-

**The Psycho-
logical
Basis of
Social
Life;
Like
Activity
by Like
Organisms,
Mutual
Aid, Com-
munica-
tion, Con-
sciousness
of Kind**

**Man's
Social
Nature**

fant with its environment, in no way affects the truth of the assertion that such a tendency does exist. All thinkers, from Aristotle to the latest representative of the latest school of psychology, agree that man is a "social animal." And besides this general tendency which brings men into groups, man has special tendencies which give quality to his social life. No great mental effort is required to recognize several of these tendencies. Flattery is an ancient vice, but it still wins many favors: man loves praise. Social disapproval is the strongest deterrent to individual wrongdoing: man dislikes to be blamed or condemned by his fellows. In suffering, man craves sympathy; to others in distress, he extends aid: man is moved by the affections or the afflictions of others. He rewards the successful man by emulating him. Mastery over others is a great joy to the individual; but at the same time he will submit to mastery by another once it is established. Man unites with his fellows in fear, wrath, and loyalty. Indeed, he finds pleasure in mere excitement among them. This highly developed social nature is merely an elaboration of the simple tendency of like-behaving organisms to live together; but in its refinement there has developed not only the "consciousness of kind" which distinguishes human society, but also the capacity for communication between individuals, and for the specialized forms of social activity which make possible the complete integration of individuals into that unity of life which is present society.

The Elements of Social Organization

Present society is but an expression of man's social nature, which is the product of an infinitely long development from the lowest forms of life to man.

Individual Contacts

Consciousness of kind brings men into society. It establishes the individual in a life with his kind, thus providing him with direct relationships or contacts with them. These contacts are the basic elements in social organization. They are the stuff of which the more complex social forms are made.

Social Institutions

As an organism, man has certain fundamental needs—to feed himself and to reproduce his kind, are examples. These needs, being common to all individuals, result in the development of certain universal types of social activity. These types, in turn, become the social institutions, which are five in number: the family, economic organization, the school, the church, and the political state. Industry and commerce arise from the need to secure food and shelter. Family life serves the need for reproduction. Social institutions are based upon the need for a common method of securing ends desirable alike to all men. Their forms may vary from place to place, and from time to time, but they always remain. All social groups everywhere show these typical social institutions.

Besides these institutions, society exhibits special associations. These are based upon specific likenesses which may be the attributes of only a few of the individuals in the general group. All men have a family relationship; only a few belong to "poultry clubs": those interested, of course, in poultry. An association, in this sense, may be defined as a group organized to serve some interest or end common to all who enter into it. It may be a "commercial club," a "society to prevent cruelty to animals," or a "sweet pea club." Such associations serve to give expression to the multiplicity of interests which arise among men.

**Associa-
tions**

An individual's life is usually fixed within a certain geographical district. This limited area and the aggregate of people who inhabit it provide the setting for the life of the individual, and together they constitute a "community." It may be a rural hamlet, a great city, or a nation; a few human beings become world citizens. Within this community are the other social forms. The institutions are similar to those found in other areas, but the specific associations arise from the peculiar interests and activities of the people in the district. In an agricultural community, these interests may be "pig clubs" or "farmers' unions"; in a mining region, they may be "engineering societies," or "labor unions"; in the modern city, they will range from the "labor unions" to the "bridge clubs." The word "community" represents a division of population within which there is a general and common body of contacts and associations. For the individual it is the matrix of his daily contacts with others of his kind.

**Communi-
ties**

Organized from these communities and established over larger areas of the earth are great social groups. These groups are the final units in the entity of human life. In all probability they originated far back in the primitive horde, gathered together in the first response to the awakening consciousness of kind, antedating, indeed, the development of institutions, associations, and communities. Today, however, these groups are nations with organized governments, special interests, and cherished ideals, which transcend in power and value those of all other elements of society. For a man to call himself an "American" is to claim a distinction among the world's peoples that no other designation can quite equal. For other men such distinction lies in being English, French, or Russian. By this association with the life of a great group, the individual is raised to the highest level of social life and is allowed to participate in activities which would be impossible for him if alone. In our day the individual's very existence depends upon his membership in such a group: without it he is lost among men, lost like star dust falling into the sea. From him this nation-group demands allegiance and expects sacrifices; to

**Social
Groups,
Nations**

him it gives prestige and rights among others of his kind. To it he surrenders individuality, to receive back social identity. Through his nation the individual merges into the world organization of society.

Society, however, remains as the sum total of all relations existing through individual contacts, associations, institutions, and communities, and blending through group activities into the final entity of human life. Society is the interrelation of one man with all men, and of all men with one another, in their multiplicity of needs and diversity of interests, both in coöperation and in conflict. It is the unity of diversified individual life-experience.

**The
Levels of
Social
Organiza-
tion**

Groups held together by mere sensed likenesses, especially of form, are the lowest types of societies. They are found far down in the scale of existence. Mice and ground squirrels live in colonies; beavers construct dams and communities of dwellings; elephants and bison rove in herds; many birds live in flocks; fish form schools, going from breeding ground to feeding ground with the regular turn of the seasons; some insects, especially bees and ants, have highly organized societies. In sub-human society, likeness begets similar action in similar situations, and the individual finds life easier in the group than in isolation or with unlike forms of life. Social organization at least serves the individual as a means of protection. It was on this level of society that the essential elements of man's social nature were developed.

**The First
Level of
Human
Society,
Savagery**

There is no discoverable first type of human society; the general condition of savagery, with varying forms of social life, represents the first human social level known to students. In this primitive society all life was a struggle for existence. The meagerness of the food supply and the dangers of daily life made existence severe and terrible; only the most able in mind and body could survive. These strong individuals became the seeds of higher developments. In the primitive horde, which probably never numbered more than a few hundred individuals, appeared the rudiments of present social organization. Individual contacts were simple because they were limited by the small number in the horde, and still more by the lowly condition of life. Social organization centered about a blood relationship, undoubtedly first recognized as being established through the mother. Social institutions were in fact quite undifferentiated; all were phases of the general group life. Nevertheless, it was on this level that the elemental forms of all that is permanent in society appeared: family ties, occupations and industries, knowledge and arts, the prowess of the strong and the cunning, and the awe of Deity.

Naïveté characterized all mental life; the winds and the waters moved with unseen spirits. Custom and practice hardened into rigid forms which governed all group and individual activity, and prevented departures from the common and established ways and means of living. Thus the integrity of the group was preserved at the cost of suppressed individuality. Savagery everywhere appears to have been an inflexible system of social organization.

In the barbarism which succeeded this lowly condition men became organized in much larger groups based upon the general recognition of blood ties extending perhaps through both father and mother, but certainly through one of them, and also upon a more subtle bond, that of "sharing a common luck," *i. e.*, participation in a common life favored by a special approval of the spirit world. By these bonds the group was recognized as having a continued existence through time; its members participated in past achievements and future projects. Strangers were unacceptable as "members," but as "guests" they were usually treated with extreme courtesy. On this level the elements of society had a complete form. Permanent communities existed, and special associations, quite like modern secret societies, appeared. Religious systems with priests and symbols divided the powers of government with a nobility distinguished by ranks and insignia. Chiefs and, in the more advanced stages, kings, completed a social pyramid which rested heavily upon the lowly masses, generally employed in agriculture. Custom and ritual held all, priest, chief, and worker, in a permanent service to the dead hand of the past. Man's mind retained its simplicity, but became systematic: complete mythologies were the common products of barbaric thinking. Barbarism began the organization of the human abilities which savagery had selected.

The Second Level of Human Society, Barbarism

The transition from one social level to another is unmarked either by catastrophe or by revolutionary achievement; it is the natural outcome of the combined accomplishments in many fields of activity. It was thus that savagery merged into barbarism, and the latter into the highest social level, civilization. Since the transition is gradual and quite unobservable to those who bring it about, there is a persistence of the older forms of activity among those newly developing; in fact, the older forms constitute by far the greater portion of all activities. Consequently it is wrong to think of civilization as a great advance beyond savagery and barbarism. It is the product of their achievements, and preserves in its forms much that is of the two lower levels. Civilized man ought not to be proud in the presence of his uncouth brethren of the lowly peoples, for to men like them he owes his

Gradual Transition from One Social Level to Another

present advanced state. The savage and the barbarian did most of the "dirty work" in man's struggle for life and for mastery over the earth.

The High-
est Social
Level, Civ-
ilization

In its social connotation, the root-meaning of the word civilization is "city-life." Barbarians lived in settled communities, often in agricultural villages and towns; when this settled life centered in a permanent citadel or about a religious shrine, all that was most necessary and most cherished in the group life became consolidated in a restricted area. Individual contacts were increased, with the consequent whetting of individual faculties and desires. The group recognized in the settlement a symbol of group existence, and loyalty induced faculties to adorn and enrich the symbol. It was thus, perhaps, that barbarism reached its highest form, or the lowest level of civilization. The quicker acid of association with strangers was necessary, however, before the social control of individuals through barbaric custom could be changed to the more fluid form, law, which is the commonly recognized ingredient of all civilization, as the term is usually employed.

What hap-
pened to
Men in
the First
Cities

It was at places favorable for trading, or at junctions of natural roads, that barbarians first came together in considerable numbers. In such places they associated with strangers, and in the association each learned from the other the first lessons in toleration. Each came to recognize the common rights of all. The individual came to live with others of his kind who did not speak his language, share his luck, or claim his descent. It was thus that men were liberated from the inflexibility of earlier group life. They found by mingling with others not of their clan or tribe that the wrath of their gods was not to be feared. Prohibited acts were openly practiced with no evident punishments. Indeed, men first dared to think critically, to ask questions in sacred places. The new flexibility gained by recognizing individual rights under law cleared the way for the individual's participation in activities long closed to him by custom and ritual. When language was reduced to writing men gained greater familiarity with the ideas of those who had preceded them, and found it possible to preserve old and new knowledge. Thus the freedom gained for the mind was given more materials with which to work. As a result, the struggle for existence was eased, leisure came to be enjoyed at least by the few, and art, poetry, and other exceptional expressions of human abilities emerged to adorn the life of the new communities.

The transition from barbarism to civilization was marked by a further recognition of likeness among men. At last, the individual was discovered. Civilized men are known by the rights which they claim for themselves, and which they are willing to allow

to others. To the barbarian, except as a "guest," the stranger was, like any other animal, merely "game." In civilized societies, the stranger at least became a man. The history of civilization has been, from the social point of view, the history of learning to live with strangers. The gradual release of the individual from the rack of barbaric custom made society more plastic, but without causing group disintegration. The elaborate industrial, scientific, educational, religious, and political systems which characterize the life of civilized peoples are the fruits of this release of individual energies. The rigidity of the barbaric group was replaced by a solidarity organized from the coöperation of the members in the new group.

The first societies to leave historical records were those of Egypt and Chaldea. In recent times the remains of similar civilizations, the Inca and Aztec of America, the Chinese and Hindu of Asia, have added much to our knowledge. All seem to have been similar in type. In each there was a class of slaves who did the work of field, shop, and quarry. The pyramids are monuments to the slave-master's lash. The rulers were a military class and claimed descent from gods. Associated with them were the priests, who in their monopoly of religious knowledge dominated the lives of the people and sometimes even the government. In each, women were suppressed and virtually deprived of rights. Agriculture made the settled life possible. The relics from the tombs of these people and the ruins of their buildings remain as evidence of the splendor which their rulers were able to conceive.

In India, where the invading whites from the northwest found a low type of colored people, the ancient race lines hardened into a permanent caste system. There were four great castes. The Brahmans or priests, according to the holy books, had originated from the breath of the God, Brahma, at the moment of creation, and so were the highest. They alone possessed the right to have a knowledge of the sacred Veda. They were the chiefs of creation; all other mortals enjoyed life through them. Below these, but coöperating with them, was the warrior caste, the members of which had sprung from the arms of Brahma. The knowledge of the sacred books could be imparted to them by the Brahmans. The next caste was that of the husbandmen, who had come from the belly and thighs of God. They were the workers and tradesmen, the mass of the population. The lowest classes had sprung from the feet of Brahma, and were fit only to be the servants of the other castes. Besides these four great castes, there were a great many other divisions based on economic functions, race distinctions, and religious beliefs. An individual born into a caste had a fixed position for life. His work and his associates were

Historical
Forms of
Civilized
Society

Ancient
Civiliza-
tions

Hindu
Civiliza-
tion
The Caste
System

established. His wife had to be found within certain caste limits. His birth, marriage, and death were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies. The associations in which he found his life were fixed beyond his power to change them. If he broke the caste rules in a minor way, he was punished or had to atone for his crime by performing religious ceremonies. When a low caste, or an "untouchable," came near a member of a higher caste, the latter was placed under an immediate obligation to purify himself. If the shadow of a low caste person fell upon his food, the food had to be thrown away. This system still holds the life of India in rigid bonds.

**Greek
Civiliza-
tion**

The Greeks deviated from these civilizations in attributing freedom and equality to members of the ruling class. These Greek "citizens" were the first human beings to look at life without allowing a blear of superstition to obscure its aspects. Although lacking our scientific methods, they measured life's possibilities and judged its contents. They gave the mind freedom to reason about all things. Political discussion, with criticism of the government, was first allowed. Their art expressed the balance of their minds, a compromise between free expression of the human powers and the necessities imposed by the restraints of nature. Their ethics realized the non-existence of eternal rights and wrongs: justice became the best possible compromise between the elements of human situations. Slavery of a milder type existed; their "democracy" was only for the ruling classes. Greece was like the clear air of a spring day: in her civilization was the promise of summer wonder and of autumn fruitage.

**Roman
Civiliza-
tion**

The Romans began, as did the Greeks, with a democratic citizenship within the ranks of the ruling class. Whereas Greece, in spite of the Persian invasions, was permitted to develop without extreme dangers from military conquest, Rome was drawn into the continuous tribal struggles of the Italian peninsula, and as a result assumed a military character. This militarism took form in a strong central authority and a body of law, which as the city extended its rule, enabled it to become the master of the less forceful peoples of the western world. Just as Greek democracy degenerated into a pacifism which caused the loss of liberty, so Roman militarism developed into a tyranny which destroyed freedom. By conquest Rome became mistress of the world; her citizens became officials, who lost their military virtues and surrendered their virility to the dissipations which power and wealth made possible. The city became a parasite upon the provinces, whose governors milked them of their wealth—a wealth with which popularity was purchased among the multitudes who

clamored for "bread and shows" beneath the columns of the Forum and the walls of the Coliseum.

Greece offered the world liberty; Rome offered it organization under a "body of law." Both failed, one in the weakness of decentralization, the other in the indulgences of concentrated power. Their offerings and their failures include both the bases and the problems of present civilization.

The last centuries of the Roman Empire witnessed a general social transformation. Christianity disturbed the spiritual unity of the state; the virility of the Teutonic tribes of north-central Europe broke its power. With their coming there developed in the course of time a system of society compounded from the barbaric military conquest, Roman landholding, and Christian teachings, a modified slave and caste system called "feudalism." The leader of a conquering band became a king, his lieutenants became nobles, his followers became the lesser nobility, and the conquered population became serfs, attached to the land and working it for the victor. All were united and held together by definite bonds of service. In return for military protection owed by each lord to his subjects, the latter rendered definite services. Some went with him to his wars; they likewise might be called upon to contribute to his ransom, to pay dues when his daughter was married or when his son was knighted. In case the subject were a serf, the services were in labor or in products of the soil. Within this framework the life of Europe developed.

Western
Civiliza-
tion

Feudalism

The spread of Christianity and the rise of the Roman Catholic Church added character to the life. A great priest class, headed by the Bishop of Rome, as Pope, became a sort of international caste, and contested with the feudal lords, sometimes successfully, for the supremacy over society. This hierarchy did gain control over the life of the ordinary man, directing it toward the hereafter. Life upon earth was interpreted only in terms of future life, and certain of the Christian virtues were made the rules of social existence. Thrift, the dignity of labor, and respect for authority were inculcated. Avarice and cupidity, as well as interest and profit-making, were condemned. Ignorance and superstition, however, remained in full control of the average mind, and the daily round of existence merely settled into the grooves provided for it: the noble controlling it on this earth, the priest directing it toward the next.

Most men were agriculturalists, and lived in communities about the castle, or later, about the manor house of the lord. Towns were small, and the means of communication between them insecure. Within them, guild societies of craftsmen held life in as

rigid embrace as serfdom held the tillers of the soil. For upwards of a thousand years this feudal society, in its modified and developing phases, encompassed the life of Europe.

Western
Civiliza-
tion

Individ-
ualism

Even when feudalism was at its height there began a development which ended in its extinction. In the towns, from the tenth century on, there began to appear a new class, relatively free from the feudal bonds, which drew its wealth, not from landholding, but from trading and commerce. A growth of population set in: the discovery of the New World augmented the supply of wealth; living conditions improved; and this class, recruited from the new traders and the wealthier agriculturalists, became more numerous. They possessed wealth, acquired learning, and then longed for prestige and power. Because of the need of the feudal governments for money, this class secured, bit by bit, the right to participate in the government. With their rise to power came an expulsion of the lesser landholders from their bits of property, and also the liberation of the serfs. New agricultural practices which made large farming profitable, achieved this social change. The development of a landless laboring class and a dominant wealthy class in the cities, "the middle class," at the end of the eighteenth century marked the appearance of our present society.

From the earliest civilized societies to the Old Régime of the eighteenth century, the characteristics of social organization remained essentially the same. For most men the local community was the limit of their contacts with others of their kind. The average individual had little or no knowledge of other places or peoples. His position in the community and in the larger group was determined more by custom than by law. His individuality was barely visible under the cloak of his customary relation to a class, service, or order, and his rights were those of the class, service, or order rather than his own. The institutions remained in their age-long relationship, church and state uniting to weld the fear of the supernatural and the natural into one dominion over the masses. Industry and commerce grew slowly within the almost universal employment in agriculture. Men's thinking remained naïve; belief in and obedience to established ideas remained hardly touched by the skeptic's sharpened wit. Civilization to the end of the eighteenth century developed within the form of barbaric social organization.

Western
Civiliza-
tion
The
"Natural
Order" of
Society

In the theories of the eighteenth century thinkers, the "middle class" found ready-made the principles of a new social order. These principles repudiated the system of ranks and privileges of the feudal society, and emphasized the rights of the individual human being. The basic ideas of the old order had come from the sacred past: kings ruled by divine right, lords and priests,

existed by a divine grace. The new society found its principles in a "natural order." Moses at the burning bush was superseded by a new oracle, Newton with the falling apple. Divine revelation gave way to human reason. Indeed, Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation, a force which held earth, sun, and stars in a cosmic order, turned men's minds to a quest of similar laws which might hold men, institutions, and communities in a social order. John Locke, contemplating the American aborigine, discovered the true principles of political organization. Jean Jacques Rousseau, romancing about the same likely fellow, found him to be a "noble savage" and his contemporary Europeans to be "everywhere in chains." With Robinson Crusoe for a guide and master, Rousseau was ready to reconstruct the social order. He popularized the idea of a "state of nature" in which men might live freely and happily. A French physician, ruminating over the circulation of the blood as it had been described by Harvey, jumped to the conclusion that wealth circulated similarly in the social body. Thereupon the physician discovered the laws of the economic "natural order," and from various thinkers came other such laws. By the end of the century Rousseau's *Social Contract*. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, and Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth* served as the Old and New Testaments and the *Summa Theologica* ⁴ of the "natural order" of society.

By reason man had at last won salvation, at least for this world. Were there not the "imprescriptible rights" of man, "liberty, property, and security"? Had not the Creator in His infinite wisdom endowed man with a "self-love" which was the one force necessary for social progress? So, at least, argued the great lawyer, Blackstone. In the "natural order" all men were equal, and had the right to be consulted on all matters of social importance. To choose his religious faith, to form and express his opinions, and to work at any calling—these were only slightly lesser liberties of the individual. Above all, he should be educated so that he might understand "natural law" and therefore be guided in the ways of progress. He had full right to participate in political government; but the functions of government were reduced to a minimum; and in case government threatened his "imprescriptible rights" it was to be overthrown by his equally imprescriptible right "to resist oppression." Individual freedom of action was exalted, and endless progress toward perfection was promised to man so long as he chose to be guided in reason by natural laws.

These ideas merely described the emerging social organization

⁴ The *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) is the epitome of the theological concept of life and existence as developed at the end of the Middle Ages.

of the late eighteenth century. The American state came into existence in the heyday of these doctrines. The early decades of the nineteenth century saw them at the height of their popularity. What the doctrines described as the natural order of society existed, in fact, as an extreme individualism. The individual, although partially recognized by the first civilizations, now stood forth as the sole factor in social organization. Revelation and custom were called to justify their truth and rightness at the bar of his judgment. He was made master of the state. He claimed freedom from the church. He was granted the right to acquire possession of the earth. Society in all of its forms existed only to serve the individual.

This intense individualism which destroyed the remnants of the inflexible structure of barbaric society was the product of age-long developments, but chiefly of that which came in the continuous growth of city life from the tenth to the eighteenth century. Out of these cities came men, adventurous, acquisitive, rational, and worldly. Institutions, creeds, and customs meant little to them except to serve their desires and ambitions. Thus the acid of city life which first loosened the bonds of barbarism completed their dissolution.

Western
Civiliza-
tion

The Dis-
covery of
Evils in
Society

All was not well, however, in "the state of nature." Profits for the middle class were not forbidden fruit, and they increased abundantly; but the promised social progress turned out to be an illusion. A thing of iron and fire—the factory—had come to disturb the "state of nature." In the new circumstances many strange things went on and set men to thinking. Malthus discovered that the "natural order" was not one of progress at all: rather, it was a continuous slaughter by warfare, famine, and disease of those imprudent human beings who did not check unnaturally a perfectly natural activity, the reproduction of their kind. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the "state of nature" appeared to be one, such as is described in the popular song, in which "the rich get richer, and the poor get children," a state in which overworked children, exploited women, and unemployed men balanced against swollen wealth for the few. The individual who satiated his desires for wealth and economic dominion found his community devastated by his success. Society, on its part, found itself ravished by the indulgent individualism.

The
Modern
Industrial
City and
Social
Organiza-
tion

But again it was the city which served social organization. Indeed, most men still remained in the country; but the terrible distress of the new city life posed the problem of the developing society. Where the past had held men bound in custom and obedience, the present exhibited them miserable and depraved, in actual want and vice. The disappearance of the protecting cloak

of custom left the masses naked in their economic need, intellectual ignorance, and elemental passions. In thus stripping the individual to his bare desires and capacities, the city set itself a problem, that of weaving a new garment for him. It became necessary to readjust the social institutions to the changed life of man. The great increase in urban population is the most significant social fact of modern times. Men have been drawn together in large numbers; their contacts have been greatly increased; the customary activities long surviving have been destroyed; the ancient beliefs have been disturbed; the average mind has been fed with new experience and knowledge. In the past only the few ate of the forbidden fruit, knowledge, whereas now the many claim a portion. On the one hand, the modern city has posed the problem of social reorganization; on the other, it has served to release individual energies. In claiming the latter to meet the former, it may achieve the advance to a new social organization.

Since in a time of flood there may be many Noahs, the distresses of men in the new cities called forth many projects for reorganization. Carlyle, even though he built no ark, rolled heavy thunder from transcendental heights to warn men to be up and doing lest they perish. Others revisited the "state of nature" and found it to be one in which love moved men to labor and beauty charmed away their fatigue. One among the many, Karl Marx, discovered a "natural order" as terribly scientific as it was natural, which threatened the existing society with a catastrophic end. He saw the miseries of the poor increasing until at last they would seize the wealth of the earth, and in their want practice such a contradictory forbearance that a perfect commonwealth would be set up. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the growth of the modern industrial city was showing its true potency, the cry for social reform became insistent.

Bismarck's adoption of a general policy of social insurance marked the first important break with the idea of no governmental interference in economic activity, one of the central ideas in the "natural law" concept of social organization. Since the period of 1870-1880, the world has experienced a general movement on the part of government, labor, learning, and religion toward a reconstructed society.

In this developing society the individual has remained the essential unit of social organization. His welfare and happiness are the aims of social policy and the cherished hopes of social ideals; but it is recognized that these are to be achieved, not by glutting his desires, but by finding expression for his life in such a way that it will add to the lives of other men. He serves himself best

Western
Civiliza-
tion

The Birth
of Social
Reforms

Socializa-
tion, the
Present
Tendency
in Social
Organiza-
tion

who serves others first. Service—this is the watchword of the new social policy. Individualism has a new and greater meaning. Society is to be so regulated and adjusted that each individual may lead a complete life, keeping for himself those things which he finds necessary for a wholesome existence, and extending to others the work of his hands and the fruit of his personality. Society is to become more social, in order that the individual may be more individual.

**Fanciful
Forms of
Society**

Man has long had visions of a perfect society in which peace, justice, and good-will shall be the rules of life.

**Plato's
Republic,
More's
Utopia
and
Others**

In ancient Greece Plato dreamed his Republic, a state ruled by the wise and the just, guarded by soldiers educated in music and athletics, supported by free industrial workers, but served by slaves who were men without minds. The individual was completely suppressed by the group. The state had no foreign relations: it was a self-sufficing unit. At the opening of modern times Sir Thomas More described Utopia, which has given its name to all similar fancies. It consisted of fifty-four cities located south of the equator. Property was held in common. Agriculture was the universal occupation, but each man was taught a trade. The hours of labor were limited to six daily, and the population was transported from country to city at regular intervals. Marriage was strictly regulated, with no divorces possible. Trade with foreign states was carried on in alternate years. The precious metals thus secured were used to hire mercenaries to defend the state. Criminals were reduced to slavery. Utopia, like the Republic, had a suppressed class of laborers who were entirely without rights.

Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, and Wells' *Modern Utopia* are only a few of the many modern books which describe a perfect society.

Whereas the ancients built their perfect societies upon a servile class—"animated tools," as Aristotle called them—the modern dreamers have reared theirs upon an "if." A little bit of perfection, a particle of tyranny, or a small subtraction from human nature—all compressed in the impossible "if"—are necessary as the foundation of our modern perfect societies.

Humanity neither needs nor should desire a perfect society; it should be content, as indeed it must be, with one in which there is a constant forward movement toward an ever-advancing ideal of human well-being.

**The Scien-
tific Study
of Society**

Where the dreamers have found fancies, the modern scientist seeks to discover the true and the possible in social organization.

The study of society is very old, but it has become critical in spirit and in method only in the last century. With the growth of

natural science there came an ever-expanding field of investigation, until finally it became apparent that man himself and all of his qualities were facts of nature to be studied in the same way as the material universe. Natural science slowly liberated itself from the tyranny of authority, superstition, and personal opinion—to become the greatest transforming force in modern culture. It vindicated its right to discover the truth about material existence, even though that truth were contrary to accepted ideas and current dogmas. The modern study of society claims the same right. It insists that human life and society are parts of the natural existence, and that only by the processes of observation and investigation can the best forms of human relationships and actions be discovered. The modern study of society seeks a complete view of the life of man, both individual and social, in all of its aspects, physical, mental, and spiritual.

In carrying on this study, students make use of all other sciences which may contribute to the knowledge of human life. The foundations of the study are biology and psychology. The former is the study of living things; it seeks to describe and to explain the growth and organization of the human body. Psychology is the study of human behavior, the actions of the human body-mind in meeting the dangers and satisfying the needs and desires of its life. These two sciences deal with man's original nature, *i. e.*, what man is before he is brought into the relationships of society and the complexities of civilization. Social psychology studies man's behavior as it is conditioned by others of his kind. Prehistory and history exhibit the facts of man's past life as it is recorded in the rocks, remains, and writings of the ages. Ethnology and ethnography describe present types of men, the conditions of their life, and their distribution over the earth. Economics describes the life of man as he goes about the task of satisfying his needs for food, clothing, and shelter, and the greater efforts he makes in order to secure and to utilize wealth. Political science describes the ways and means devised to regulate and control human behavior through laws and government. Ethics seeks to discover the rightness or wrongness of actions. Educational studies endeavor to show the proper methods of developing right action and conduct. Sociology describes that conduct as it takes form and has effects in group life. Statistics enumerate the facts of man's life, and give a numerical view of his existence among his kind. Philosophy undertakes the harder task of finding meaning for his life. These studies combine to describe the ways in which men have lived in the past and how they live at present. They exhibit the content of man's social heritage as it has developed and as it has form in the present. Finally, there are the

The Materials for
the Study
of Society

natural sciences, physics, chemistry, geography, geology, meteorology, astronomy, zoölogy, botany, and bacteriology, which describe the physical conditions or environment in which human life exists.

Human life has many sides, with sciences based upon each of them. The modern study of society insists that there is a unity in this multiple existence, and that this unity is to be found in the individual life only as it has contact with all other forms of material and human existence.

The Study
of Society
is the
Study of
Human
Life

After all, there is one subject most interesting to man: human life. And it is a fleeting, transitory thing, of the present, out of the past, into the future. But human life is not abstract, for man is not an abstraction—he is a thing of flesh and blood and bone, with needs, cravings, desires, yearnings, and aspirations. In that unity of life which is the present “there are in fact people who appear to think only with the brain, or with whatever may be the specific thinking organ; while others think with all the body and all the soul, with the blood, with the marrow of the bones, with the heart, with the lungs, with the belly, with life.”⁵ And the philosopher might have added those who do not think at all. Of such stuff is society made; and the study of society is but the study of human life, of individual life as it has had its existence along with other individual lives through time upon this earth.

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CHAPTER II

EVOLUTION: THE METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT

This individual of flesh, blood, and bone whose being is so interwoven into the web of human life that his very individuality is only an aspect of the life of humanity, discovers when he considers himself in relation to time, that he is one of a series of individuals which through his parents and their parents before them recedes into oblivion, and which through his children and their children promises to proceed into the future. In that discovery his life is seen to be twofold: on the one hand, it is a set of concrete day-by-day experiences arising out of his relations with men and nature; on the other hand, his present life seems as a vessel, the container of past and future life, or better, as the present flow of a continuous stream of life. The individual's problems of life are found in the here and now; but the fact that he is alive at all, together with the general ways and means of his living, has been determined by the past. He is one with the ages, past and future.

Creation
and
Change

But how began this series of generations in the recurrence of which life and society are renewed? Did the entity of life spring into being in an instant? Or in the scriptural six days? Was man created, as some ecclesiastic has stated, early one morning in October 4004 B. C.?

In Milton's view, God spake and

"The earth obeyed, and straight
Opening her fertile womb, teemed at birth
Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms.
Limbed and full grown . . .
At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
Insect or worm."¹

On the other hand, in the view of the Maori of New Zealand, "No sooner was heaven rent from the earth than the multitude of human beings were discovered whom they had begotten, and who had hitherto lain between the bodies of Rangi and Papa."²

¹ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Part VII.

² A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source Book in Anthropology*, p. 516. Quoting Sir George Grey, *The Creation according to the Maori of New Zealand*.

Whence came the life which flows in present society?

Every race has had its legendary account of such a beginning, usually attributed to some great and good maker, who took the form of a raven or a coyote or a grasshopper or a spider or some animal, and after having wonderful adventures with evil monsters and the like, won the earth and created man. Primitive minds considered the same facts and came to strikingly similar views. Milton's famous rendering of the Biblical story only displays the persistence of such ideas in western civilization.

Modern man, however, has learned from his knowledge of the past that there has been change, that life has not remained always the same. History has exhibited to him a view of social change, through the Chaldean, Grecian, Roman, and medieval to modern civilization. Living men can remember the coming of the now ubiquitous automobile, which certainly has changed the social life of man from what it was in the days of the "wonderful one-hoss shay." Likewise they have experienced the fall of the German Empire, and the rise of the Russian Soviets. They can be certain that there is social change. If a man is old enough to have grown romantic about his boyhood, and has revisited the scenes of that early life, he has undoubtedly become aware of the effects of time upon the very form of the earth. In his visit he may have found his favorite ravine to have deepened into a forbidding gulch, and the smooth meadow to have been slashed by an unsightly ditch. In some way the hill on whose crest many a sun turned red has been altered. When he puts these things in terms which geology teaches him, he sees the very earth in transformation, a bit of those changes which make the geologic ages. He himself grows old, and seems a different person with advancing years. The son is not like the father. There is change.

Confronted with these facts of change, men in modern times have come to the opinion that there was no first special creation of the earth and its inhabitants in final and complete forms. Perhaps in this constant change there have come, from preceding forms, the earth itself and everything that exists, including man and his society.

The
Theory of
Evolution

Modern men have found another answer to the question, "How began that series of the generations of which we are but a turn?"

The
Meaning
of a
Theory

This answer is "evolution," the theory of evolution. And it is a theory; it is not a hypothesis, nor is it a fact. The former is an unproved guess; the latter is a certainty, established by incontestable evidence. A theory, however, is more than a guess and less than a fact; it is an explanation of a situation which seems to be true, at least insofar as there is any evidence to support an assertion. The theory rests upon concrete evidence, too weak to

establish certainty, too strong to warrant denial. By some the theory of evolution is held to be a mere guess; others go too far and hold it a fact. It is at least an explanation for which supporting evidence can be found in the natural world; and such evidence cannot be found for the guess of the Maori. Students in the sciences have weighed the evidence and have found it sufficient. They accept the theory as the best possible interpretation of all of the known facts which throw any light on the origins of all existing things, physical, organic, and social.

Stated simply, the theory of evolution means that all present forms of existence are derived from previous forms, that complex forms of life develop from antecedent and simpler types. "Evolution is the gradual development from the simple unorganized condition of primal matter to the complex structure of the universe; and in a like manner, from the beginning of organic life on the habitable planet, a gradual unfolding and branching out into the varied forms of beings which constitute the animal and the plant kingdoms."³ According to the evolutionary interpretation of the discoverable and known facts of life, all forms of existence are related to and derived from the forms which have preceded them. Men, animals, and plants are seen to be the relative divisions in a great life-structure which is one in origin and development. Not only life, but the earth and the universe, are conceived to be a part of the same great entity.

**A State-
ment of
the
Theory of
Evolution**

Evolution has been called "God's way of thinking," which means that man has been allowed to read the story of creation. Evolution, however, does not account for the first origins of any thing; it only describes the process by which one form of existence seems to have been derived from another. It assumes the existence of "primal matter." God remains in His heaven, the creator and the controller of universal existence, and directs it through the creative process which is called "evolution" ever toward new forms of being. Perhaps the "kingdom of God" thus grows on earth, and man is allowed to participate in its coming.

Evolution discloses the law of orderly change which brings the element of unity into the seeming chaos of existence when that existence is thought of in terms of individuals only. Evolution gives unity to the ages, and finds that unity preserved in the present and living on to become the future.

As an idea, evolution is very old; but as an accepted explanation of the origin of present existence, it is recent. The Greeks anticipated the theory when one of them taught that "change is the all-pervading law of things." Aristotle believed that all living things tended to develop to greater and greater perfection,

**History
of the
Theory**

³ R. S. Lull, *Organic Evolution*, p. 6.

and some of the early church fathers, especially St. Augustine, held similar views. It was not until the general advance of science in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries that the theory acquired its present meaning. Many men contributed to this development. Bacon and Leibnitz thought that species, *i. e.*, type forms of living organisms, might be changed into other types. Buffon argued that environmental influences cause organisms to change. Lamarck completed these views by asserting that organisms develop through the transfer of such changes from parent to offspring. Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles Darwin, contributed the idea of development from simplest organisms to present forms through an immense period of time. Thus Charles Darwin did not originate the theory of evolution; indeed, he shares with Alfred Wallace its classic exposition. In 1859 his book, *The Origin of Species*, was published, and through this the theory gained a general currency. His description of the method of the process, and a later application of the theory to the descent of man precipitated a controversy, rumbles of which still disturb the intellectual atmosphere. His work has been superseded in part, but the theory stands today, chiefly by the evidence which he brought to its support. Herbert Spencer applied the theory to universal existence, while Lester F. Ward brought social organization, especially as it is determined by the mental attributes of man, under the theory. As a result of work by many students and investigators, evolution has been established as the most scientific and reasonable explanation of the origin of present existence.

**Evidence
Support-
ing the
Theory of
Biological
Evolution**

Darwin's conclusions were based upon his observations of living plants and animals; and further evidence has only confirmed his views. At present the most significant evidence is found in the comparison of one form of life with others. Their structures, the history of their growth, and the records of their existence through time, provide proof of their evolution.

**Evidence
from
Bodily
Structure**

It has been discovered that there is a similarity of structure between the organs of widely separated species. The flapper of the whale is constructed on the same design as the forefoot of a quadruped, while the latter is similar in pattern to the forearm of man. Furthermore, the wings of bats and birds follow the pattern of this forearm, bone for bone, and muscle for muscle. The conclusion that is drawn from this similarity in structure is that all are the related descendants of very remote ancestors which were themselves related.

**Vestigial
Remains**

Besides these structural relationships, anatomical studies have shown that there are organs remaining in the bodies of present species which are no longer active, but which in other species are

used. Embedded in the whale are the remnants of two hind legs, and one species of this sea-going mammal has teeth deeply buried in its jaw. Boa constrictors show vestiges of hind legs. And the body of man provides a great number of these useless remains. At the end of his backbone there is the relic of a tail structure. His vermiform appendix once served the same purpose that the similar structure serves for cud-chewing animals. In the corner of his eye are the remains of a fold that is the third eyelid of the birds. Besides these prominent remains, there are others, including muscles to move the ear and gill clefts which belong now only to fishes. All told, one hundred and eighty rudimentary and vestigial structures have been found in the human body. These facts indicate that there is an evolutionary relationship between man and the other members of the animal world.

All animals start their lives as single cells and develop from them into the diverse forms which are found over the earth. As the story of this development has been read, it has been learned that at several stages of growth all animals show similarities of structure. This is especially true while they are in the embryo, that is, before birth. The human embryo at an early stage resembles the embryo of a fish, at later stages that of a bird and some mammals, while at one period in its higher development it is hardly distinguishable from the embryo of some of the apes. In the development of the human heart there are several stages: first it has two chambers like the heart of a fish, then three chambers like that of the frog, and finally four chambers like the bird and mammal hearts. It seems that each individual, as it develops in the embryo from a single cell, passes through the stages of the life-forms which have preceded it in the evolutionary series.

Evidence
from Em-
bryology

Similarities exist not only in the embryonic periods, but also in later stages. The human child in the first few weeks after its birth has remarkable grasping strength in its hands and arms, which can be explained on the hypothesis that man's ancestor once had need of such strength as a tree-dweller. The child, like the ape, does not use its thumb in the act of grasping. It seizes objects with its four fingers and palms. Children sometimes do not acquire the use of the thumb until they are four or five years old.

These facts, derived from the study of the development of the individual organism from the single cell, when joined with those of the similarities of structure which exist among adult forms, further establish the conclusion that all forms of life are related not only in bodily structure but in development as well.

Buried in the rocks and soil are the bones of many preëxisting

forms of life. These "fossils," as they are called, are the treasures which some present-day adventurers seek, and the stories they tell are as thrilling as the tales of treasure-hunting.

Evidence
from
Fossil
Records

If it is true, as the evidence from living bodies and the embryos of animals indicates, that present types are related and have a common descent, some record of the relationship ought to exist. This record has been found in these fossils. A set of shells picked from the layers of the bed-rock of a German lake, when placed in the proper order, that of the strata as they rest one upon the other, has at either end a distinct species; and the shells from the intervening layers record their relationship.

The Horse

In the American Museum of Natural History, in New York City, there is a series which shows how our modern horse developed. These fossils were dug from the dry rocks of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Dakota—where the cowboy clot-clots his lonely trail over the cattle range, riding the descendant of a small four or five-toed animal no larger than the coyote which yelps across the evening. Two million years or more were taken by nature to accomplish the transformation of this small animal into the horse, the noblest servant of man, of which a sovereign could exclaim, "My kingdom for a horse." Little did that sovereign realize how many kingdoms might have risen and fallen before any horse ever answered a master's rein. Another remarkable series shows the origin of the camel, while yet another portrays how the peculiar structures of the elephant's trunk and tusks were evolved from a more primitive type.

"Archæo-
pteryx"

One of the most important of all fossils so far discovered is the one known as "*Archæopteryx*," the oldest bird. This fossil was found in the fine limestones of Bavaria and represents the transition of life from the reptile to the bird form. *Archæopteryx* was a peculiar bird. The mouth had a fine set of reptilian teeth, the wings ended in claws, and the tail was elongated similar to that of a lizard. Yet it was a bird, about the size of a crow, with feathers, a beak, and a wishbone, structures which are peculiar to birds.

This record written by the bones of fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals completes the story of the relation of living forms to one another and to those of the past. Their bodily structures show similarities, their embryos pass through like stages, and the bones of their ancestors tell of a common descent. Year by year, as these facts accumulate, the evidence for the theory of evolution becomes more and more convincing.

Evidence
from
Plant and
Animal
Breeding

Man has demonstrated the theory further by applying it to his own purposes in the development of new plants and animals. Sixteen different types of canary birds have been derived from one

species since 1550. More than two hundred kinds of doves have been developed from one primitive type. The barnyard hen in all her varieties seems to be the descendant of one unique fowl; and within the past thirty years, a type of chicken now quite popular, the Rhode Island Red, has been created by the crossing of five different breeds. The "cow with the crumpled horn" has been subjected to controlled evolution, and has come out a world champion butter and milk producer.

The most remarkable evidence of this type, however, is found in the works of Luther Burbank. Maize or corn is the greatest plant crop in the world, yet it is the descendant of a wild grass which still flourishes in Florida and Mexico. By retrogressive breeding Burbank degenerated the corn plant into this grass, *teo-sinte*, which produces a "head"—not an "ear"—similar to the small grains, with two opposite rows of hard kernels, quite unlike the present corn grains. The cob of the ear is especially a man-made product. In historic times the husk has been taken from the kernel and given to the ear. All of our present varieties of field, sweet, and popping corns have been developed from the "calico" corn of the Indians. All of this means that man has discovered the creative process and learned how to use it.

Recent investigators have won much new evidence to support the classical proofs of evolution. Related animal species, such as the dog and the wolf, have been found to have blood of similar chemical compositions. This is true also of man and the ape. Likewise, it is now known that these related species are hosts to parasites of related species. In a like manner they are subject to similar diseases. Such facts only substantiate the view that all forms of life have had a common development.

Modern biological science, by experiment and observation, has accumulated evidence so convincing that, in the minds of those who are familiar with the facts of bodily structure, embryological growth, fossil remains, plant and animal breeding, and the geographical distribution of the forms of living organisms, there is no doubt that the present forms of life have evolved from earlier and simpler types.

There is agreement as to this evolution of present organisms, but there is no agreement as to the method of the evolution. It seems that in this riddle are hidden the very secrets of life itself. The chief factors in the process, however, seem to be clear.

When one walks into a wood on a warm spring day there is in every bud of bush and tree, in every seed and root, in every worm, insect, bird, and animal, the urge of life. The insistent hum of living things fills the air. Innumerable seem the forms of life. More than a million kinds of animals live upon the earth. The fish

**The
Chemical
Composition of
the Blood**

Parasites

**The
Method of
Evolution**

**Multiplic-
ity**

of the sea and the birds of the air seem countless. Among the insects there are more than 50,000 kinds of beetles alone. The worms that burrow escape the ken of man, while more numerous than all are the germs too small for the eye to see. Yet this is not all. There is the infinite variety of plants which carpet the earth. And great as is the number of species, greater still is the number of individuals. One female house fly crawling into the heat of a spring day may have a billion descendants before autumn. One spawning carp will leave 200,000 eggs to become little fishes in quiet waters. If one pair of elephants should live their natural lives and all of their offspring should live after them and be fruitful, there would be more than 19,000,000 elephants alive when the first pair died. A single plant (not a dandelion) growing only two seeds a year, and all of its seeds living and producing more, at a parallel increase would in twenty years have a million descendants. If one member of a certain species of the microscopic single-celled animals were to multiply for a year, without deaths, there would be a mass of living matter as large as our solar system. Nature is extravagant of life.

**"The
Struggle
for Exist-
ence"**

This pressing fecundity of living things is a necessary factor in the process of evolution. It sets up a competition among individuals of the same species, and among individuals of different species, all under the changing conditions of life imposed by physical nature. In this competition or "struggle for existence," as it is called, are determined the winners and the losers in the battle for life.

Variation

Billions of individual forms of life are ever knocking at the door of existence. Yet no two of them are ever alike. Variability is the fact which makes every form of life unique and particular. One individual may claim some special merit; another may plead some peculiar defect. No one form of life was ever identical in all of its parts with any other of its kind. This variation among individuals is a fundamental factor in evolution. It makes possible the modification of the forms of life from generation to generation, thus bringing the appearance finally of a completely transformed organism. Variations which are acquired during the lifetime of the individual seem to have little or no importance in this transformation. But of more consequence are the variations which have their origin in the conception of the organism, *i. e.*, in the germ cell or union of germ cells from which the new individual grows. Variations of this second type tend to reproduce themselves through successive generations; and by these tendencies are established the trends which may end in a new form of life.

Heredity

Variations, however, whether acquired or congenital, seldom take the individual far from the form of its parents. Another funda-

EVOLUTION: METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT 31

mental factor in the evolutionary process is this persisting likeness which exists between parent and offspring. The line of a once popular comedy, "Like father, like son," is in part true, even if in the comedy it served only to exhibit the foibles of the two. This persisting relationship is called "heredity." It is the great conservative force which links the variable individual to his species. Also it preserves from generation to generation those variations which, through the individual's survival, have helped the species to live more successfully among the myriads of struggling organisms.

Modern biological theory holds that each living organism represents the composite development of a number of inheritable characteristics which, as they are fixed and largely unchanging, determine the species. Thus it may be that wheat represents at least eight fundamental characteristics, while the human being, it is believed, represents more than fifty. The characteristics are carried in the germ plasm, and in the process of reproduction they unite with those of the other parent to form the single-celled embryo from which the new organism develops. Each unit-celled embryo then presents a new complex of these elements, containing in itself only half of the total number held by its two parents. This new individual may be thought of for the moment as a design made from one-half of the total characteristics of its two parents. In this design are found first the permanent characteristics or their attributes which hold the individual to the species of its parents. And this is true whether they be wheat plants, guinea pigs, or human beings. By these determinants heredity is established. At the same time, in the mingling of elements from each parent, it is apparent that there is opportunity for variation from the forms of the parents. Here is a chance for those specific variations which make "son unlike father." Also it is possible that different aggregates of these characters set up developments which end in new variations. Modern biological theory, however, does not agree that these fundamental inheritable characteristics are bits of a picture puzzle, and that each individual is merely a new arrangement of the old picture; it holds, on the contrary, that these characteristics have possibilities of growth in themselves, and if mingled with others of the right sort will thrive like any seed in a fertile soil, or if mingled with the wrong sort will become feeble, like a plant in a cellar. Thus these characteristics, although they do determine the species of the individual, may at the same time have a new development which brings variations in the offspring. The function of these characteristics which pass from generation to generation through the processes of reproduction is, then, two-fold: first, to achieve heredity, and second, to produce variations. By

The Mechanism of Heredity and the Causes of Variation

this two-fold operation the new individual is created, like, but still unlike, either of its parents.

**Dominant
and Re-
cessive
Characters**

These characteristics are known to be transmitted to the offspring according to laws which take their name from the Austrian monk, Mendel, who discovered them. In the complex of characters which establishes the individual there seem to be two types: the dominant characters which appear in the immediate offspring, and the recessive characters which appear in the second and subsequent generations. Mendel, in his experiments with dwarf and tall peas, discovered that in the first generation of their offspring, all the vines were tall, and thus he designated tall the "dominant," and dwarf appearing in later generations as "recessive." In the second generation of mixed tall and dwarf, there was one tall vine whose subsequent offspring were all tall; two tall vines whose descendants were divided as follows: one tall, two mixed tall and dwarf, and one dwarf; and finally one dwarf vine.

**The Men-
delian
Law of
Heredity**

Offspring of parents bearing dominant and recessive characters pass these characters on to the future generation in the ratio of one pure dominant, two mixed dominant and recessive, and one pure recessive, 1-2-1; this is the great Mendelian law of heredity.

Luther Burbank in his experiments with yellow field corn and white sweet corn found that out of some 11,000 kernels taken from a number of mixed ears, there were 2,869 or 25.3 per cent pure yellow field kernels, 2,933 or 25.5 per cent smooth white kernels, 2,798 or 24.5 per cent wrinkled yellow kernels, and 2,803 or 24.5 per cent pure sweet corn kernels. These characteristics, yellow and white, smooth and wrinkled, passed from the parent seeds to the off-spring according to the ratio established by the Mendelian law.

**Mendel's
Laws
do not
Always
Hold True**

Later researches, however, have shown that so-called pure descendants of mixed characteristics not infrequently produce an offspring with recessive characters. Likewise the descendants of the mixed characteristics do not continue to come in the ratio of 1-2-1, but in the later generations the dominant characteristics may greatly exceed the standard ratio. These facts seem to indicate that dominance is simply a balance of power which may under certain conditions be increased or overthrown. Furthermore, under certain conditions, it has been found that the type characters seem to decompose, allowing a complete reforming of the organism from elements which are thought to be more fundamental than the dominant and recessive characters of ordinary inheritance. The effect of this decomposition is to produce a new and distinct type which in turn may pass its characteristics on to its offspring without recession to the type of the original parents. This new type is called a "sport" and is the result of a "muta-

Mutations

tion," or direct change, in the characteristics inherited. The marvelous results achieved by Luther Burbank in creating new plants have been due to the application of this principle.

At present the mystery of the process of heredity and variation is unsolved. The German biologist, Weismann, has set forth what is the generally accepted theory. It asserts that each cell of the new organism is formed by elements drawn from each parent, that new germ cells are produced directly from the original germ cells, and that the body cells of the new organism are a parallel growth, rather than the producers of the germ cells which the organism passes on in the process of procreation. According to this theory, it is plain that characteristics which are developed in the body during the life of the organism are not transmitted to the offspring. The inheritance of acquired characteristics, *i. e.*, changes in the organism during its lifetime, has long been an issue among biologists. Lamarck based his theory of evolution upon the transfer of such characteristics. Modern biologists tend to the view that they are not transmitted. Weismann and his supporters have argued that such acquired characteristics are not passed on, but that the entire process of variation and heredity is determined independently of the body of an organism in the continuous existence of the germ plasm. Present opinion, however, harbors the view that such acquired characteristics may possibly, if continued for a long period of time, react upon the germ plasm in such a way as to impress a surviving influence upon it. Certain it is, in any case, that only by changes in the germ plasm, emerging in the embryo, can permanent variation be achieved.

In the end heredity and variation appear to be the two phases of one process, the renewal of life; one giving new forms to each succeeding generation, the other holding them to the type of the species, and preserving in some way such variations as may serve the species in its struggle with the other forms of life.

To be successful in the struggle with the myriads of living things, the individual must become an adult and reproduce its kind. To grow to maturity, it must meet successfully all competition in the struggle for existence. It must out-strive those of its own kind who would deprive it of food and drink. It must save itself from all other forms of life which would prey upon it. The vagaries of the wind, the uncertainties of the temperature, the diversities of soils, must be met with a resistance which will insure survival to the individual. Adaptability is the power with which an organism meets these environmental conditions of life. All forms of life possess this capacity: it is another of the factors in the process of evolution.

The algæ, a low type of plant life, can so adapt themselves to

The Weismann Theory of Heredity

Controversy over the Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics

Adaptation

changed temperatures that a microscopic species of them lives in the arctic snows, another species survives in heated mineral springs, while yet another grows to the largest plants known to man, the seaweed of the tropical Sargasso Sea. Plants of the desert protect themselves by spikes and thorns or by developing a bitter taste or a poison. The animals of the arid regions assume the blended colors of earth and haze: the tawny lion, the dusky mauve camel. Man has adaptability to a high degree. The gardener becomes round-shouldered, the farmer acquires a bronzed complexion, the office-worker retains a soft white skin. Which is the true type of the human hand—the calloused, grimy hand of the coal miner, or the delicately fingered hand of the great musician? Man's hand fits itself to his task. Adaptation is life's answer to the challenge of environment.

**Selection
by Sur-
vival**

Nevertheless, it is evident that not all of these myriad varying individuals, held to their race by heredity, but adapting themselves to the concrete conditions of life, can reach the goal of maturity. Death is the final lot of every individual, but death must not come too soon if the species is to endure: some must live to produce offspring. In the struggle for existence are selected those who are fitted by their abilities to survive. And so it is their type, their species, which is permitted to live and to develop; their heredity continues. The individuals which compose the surviving species may become fitted to survive in two ways: first, from the variations in heredity an individual may develop a constitution especially fitted to the conditions of the struggle for existence; and second, an individual may be blessed with a high degree of adaptability, and be, therefore, more able to meet the conditions of its environment. Each of the individuals will reach maturity, and in turn have offspring who will inherit, normally, the general qualities and characters of their parents. The offspring then must repeat the struggle for existence, each individual in turn by itself, and again by survival the traits which make possible the life of the species under the conditions of the struggle for existence are selected.

**Darwin-
ism
Sexual
Selection**

Darwin completed his exposition of the method of evolution by setting forth two methods of selection, sexual and natural. "Darwinism" is the name applied to this entire evolutionary process which has been described, and the most disputed portions of the process are these methods of selection. Sexual selection was supposed to be determined in the competition among the sexes for mates which resulted in the most pleasing individuals being chosen, thus causing evolution to proceed in the direction indicated by sex attraction. This method has been discredited. But "natural selection" is the essential element in the Darwin-

**Natural
Selection**

ian method of evolution. According to this view, the survivors in the struggle for existence are determined by their fitness to survive under the conditions imposed by the environment. The individuals, unequal in constitution and adaptability, live or die entirely as they are able to meet the environmental conditions of life, and evolution proceeds along variational lines selected by the environment alone. The opponents of natural selection dislike this purely mechanical method of advance, and seek to account for the direction of evolution by assuming a preëstablished line of variation, along which selection can operate but which it cannot control. They assume the existence of a developing tendency which is part of the organism and which drives it continually forward to higher and higher forms. The evidences supporting this view are only partial, and they contain contradictions which weaken their force. Natural selection remains as the most plausible method of determining the line of variation which shall survive.

Eternally the struggle for existence goes on; the surviving species are determined by the success of their members in meeting the environmental conditions of life and in reproducing their kind. Thus ceaselessly, through innumerable generations, selections operate to destroy the unfit (and they may be called unfit only because they fail to reproduce themselves) and to strengthen those which persist. "For unto everyone that hath shall be given,"—that is the law of biological evolution. Life belongs to that individual which can preserve it. Living is the means to more life.

Biological evolution brought a succession of individual organisms through a series of stages of structural and functional organization which began in the primitive protoplasm and ended in man. When, however, it had produced organisms capable of sensing their likeness to one another, group life, or society, had its beginning, and in this new life social factors entered to condition the biological process of evolution. Modern man is a product of a social evolution as well as of a biological evolution; in fact, those attributes which mark him as the supreme ruler of living things appear to be the creations of the social process.

Among non-social organisms individual capacity determines success or failure in the struggle for existence. No tiger ever comes to the aid of another in time of danger; wolves, however, hunt in packs. The tiger lives by his prowess; the wolf survives, in part, by coöperation with other wolves. Among social organisms there is coöperation between the individuals of the species. Survival is by group rather than by individual. The bee which is separated from the swarm soon dies. Biological evolution works to transform the structure of the organism; social evolution operates to refine the coöperation which exists among the individual

**Social
Evolution**

**Effects of
Social
Evolution
upon the
Individual**

members of a society. Corals merely afford one another mechanical support; beavers coöperate to build dams and houses; bees build nests and store up food; men coöperate in countless ways—building houses, storing food, making laws, and worshipping the Deity. Social evolution affects the mental structure of the organism in such a way as to make the organism more and more sensitive to its group relation. Variability and multiplicity in individuals make possible their integration into a sustaining coöperation, and selection is determined by fitness to work within the group. The square peg in a round hole is a failure. Within the group the individual lives by a double adjustment: first, by the adjustment of his group to other groups and to the physical environment; and second, by the adjustment of himself to his fellows of the group.

Social evolution, then, has followed two lines of advance: the enlargement of social groups, and the development of a finer coöperation among the individuals composing them.

**Expansion
of Social
Groups**

In the first development, conflict between groups has been the drive to further evolution. Man has been battered into humanity by his countless wars. In such contests mutual aid among the members of the group has been constantly refined, and those groups have survived which have developed the most efficient forms of social coöperation, forms which utilize more fully the energies of the individuals of the group. Along this line of evolution man has passed from the primitive horde to the clan, to the tribe, to the city, and then to the modern nation. In each of these advances social unity was strengthened with a new bond: the primitive horde was held together by mere consciousness of kind; the clan, by blood relationship; the tribe, by custom and ritual; the ancient city, by law and common possessions; and the modern nation is maintained by common sentiments of loyalty and patriotism. Social evolution thus has transformed the individual who struggled with his kind into one who serves others. Mutual aid under the guidance of widening sympathy is the key to social evolution. With these tendencies social evolution has brought the continuous expansion of the group within which there is mutual aid.

**Continu-
ous Develop-
ment of
Mutual
Aid by
the "Divi-
sion of
Labor"**

The second tendency in social evolution appears in a progressive series of inventions which achieve a more complete control over the physical environment. The men who knew fire could learn to smelt ores, and those who could smelt ores could learn to make iron and steel, and with these they could devise thousands of tools and machines, from swords to railroads, from plowshares to curling irons. In this inventiveness, men have been able to find new means of overcoming the forces of nature and of using them, indeed, for their benefit. The result has been the development of numerous trades, occupations, industries, and professions, each

of which does things to aid the others, which is a specialization of functions and the integration of these specializations into a sustaining coöperation. The "division of labor" has become continually more minute. "Doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief," lisps the lovesick maiden; her life if not her love depends upon them, for they, even as the plowboy or butcher's clerk whom she shall marry, work to sustain her as a member of society. And she, whether she be a modern typist or an old-fashioned "homebody," will also do her part in sustaining the same society. Thus mutual aid has been made more complete by the increased division of labor.

These two lines of social evolution, group expansion and mutual aid, have not been disunited in their development or results. One has operated to aid the other. The invention of new forms of communication has aided tremendously in the extension of group lines. Social coöperation depends upon communication, and invention has worked to extend the latter; this has brought, in turn, a greater unity within the group. The first great extension of group lines came when the development of articulate speech expanded groups from those based on sensed likenesses to those based on a broadening consciousness of kind. At the other end of the evolutionary development are our modern groups, nations and international organizations, which owe their existence, in part, to the new means of communication and transportation. The railroad and the telegraph have bound the United States into a union more firm than that embodied in law.

The expanded group has come into conflict with other groups; if it has failed to overcome them, it has either been absorbed by them or has entered into a working relation with them; if it has been victorious, it has absorbed the other group into its own organization. History is replete with examples of this process. It was by these methods that the modern nations were organized; France grew from the Ile de France about Paris; England spread from the lower counties about London to include the British Isles (the Irish troubles remaining as examples of the difficulties inherent in group relations); modern Germany was created by a Prussian domination of the lesser German states; and the United States expanded at the expense of the Indian tribes. As a general rule, the defeated group is absorbed into the life of the victorious group; but in case there is a compromise between them, social organization is extended by the working elements of their new relations, and in either case group organization is broadened.

Thus social evolution has operated to carry men to the successive levels of society: savagery, barbarism, and civilization; likewise, it has carried them through the historical forms of social organization, expanding social groups, refining the coöperation

Two Lines
of Social
Evolution
Unite to
Produce a
General
Social
Organiza-
tion

The Inter-
locking
Adjust-
ment of
Life to
the En-
vironment

among the individuals within them, increasing the individual's dependence upon the group, and intensifying the sensitiveness of the individual to his social relationship. At the same time, the division of labor and the freedom of action established under laws have continuously given the individual's special energies a more ample opportunity for expression, with the grand result that, even though the individual has become more dependent upon the group, he in turn has become more of an individual within the group. Thus in social evolution the unity of life is maintained: the more complete organization of individuals through social co-operation has been achieved only by a more complete development of human individuality.

Present life in society is the product of the coördinate evolutions, the biological and the social.

The
Individual
in the
Evolution-
ary Process

Thus the individual human being discovers at last that he lives in the midst of a great process of change. Every other fact of existence which he experiences, directly or indirectly, is a condition of his life—the things that walk, creep, crawl, and fly, the insidious germ, the plants of the fields, the lay of the land, the ways of the weather—all these encompass his life. Even the facts of existence in times long past affect the individual. The multitudes of the ages in their hates, aspirations, and inventions, their miseries and successes, survive in the society which molds his life. The fact that he has life establishes his unity with the by-gone ages; the fact that he is able to preserve it proves his unity with the complex present. Men fear and detest rats, and they keep cats to kill them. But cats destroy birds, which in turn destroy insects. The insects, however, may be either the friends or the enemies of man, either the pollenizers of fruitful plants or the pests destructive to the same plants. About this round of existence, there is the double circle of life and death. Friend is foe; foe is friend. To cut one link may disrupt the entire scheme of life. To remove the cats may cause both the rats and the birds to increase; with the increase of the former the spread of the most virulent of diseases may come, while with the larger number of birds the destructive pests may disappear. Thus to remove the cats may release man from one danger only to subject him to another. All in all, there is a great unified adjustment, a composite adaptation among the multiple forms of life, and their balanced relation to the forces of environment. They not only struggle for existence against each other, but they also contribute to the existence of each other. Coöperation is as much a fact of evolution as is conflict. There is an equilibrium between the multiplicities of life and the diversities of environment.

The individual human being not only finds himself existing in

EVOLUTION: METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT 39

a set of relationships which is known as society, but he also finds himself and that society linked to the past, adjusted in the present, and struggling to persist into the future. The evolutionary process guides him into the ways of survival. It produces the adaptations, biological or social, which make survival possible; but each adaptation, in turn, demands a new evolution. Each effect is a cause; each cause is an effect. The equilibrium is a moving status. There is no static condition of life. Change goes on forever, but it is orderly. Evolution is the method of orderly change, controlling the individual, shaping the environment, and selecting the survivors. Life is the great persistent fact. The individual experiences it; evolution preserves it.

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CHAPTER III

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

<p>Man in the Universe</p>	<p>Man has been called the "animal with the upturned face," and before his eyes he finds the day with its sun and the night with its stars. The day seems nearby, but the night seems to extend into the reaches of space. On clear nights more than three thousand stars are visible to the naked eye, and through the telescope the number becomes infinite. Their sizes are enormous; the largest known star has a diameter three times as great as the distance</p>
<p>The Stars in Space</p>	<p>from the earth to the sun. Their speeds are unthinkable; the fastest moving body in the heavens is a nebula, which is rushing away from our solar system at the rate of 1,250 miles a second. The distances which separate them are incomprehensible; Centauri, the star nearest the solar system, is 27,500,000,000,000 miles away, so that a ray of its light, traveling at a speed of 186,000 miles a second, takes four and a quarter years to reach the earth. And yet these bodies, it has been discovered, are made of the</p>
<p>The Materials of the Earth</p>	<p>same chemical substances as are found on earth. Man lives with the rocks, the waters, and the winds—the solids, the liquids, and the gases; and under the proper conditions of pressure and temperature all substances can be transformed into these three states. But the up-turned eye is also the in-turned eye; and where the one finds distances and bodies of infinite greatness, the other finds spaces and particles of infinite smallness.</p>
<p>The Composition of Matter: Molecules Atoms Electrons</p>	<p>The stuff of the stars—the solids, the liquids, and the gases—is composed of the molecules of the chemical elements, eighty-eight of which are known. When these elements are arranged in different proportions and patterns, the substances which we know are formed. But these molecules are made of yet smaller particles, the atoms. A molecule of water is $1/500,000,000$ of an inch in diameter, "a baseball beside the earth," but it is made up in turn of atoms, two of hydrogen and one of oxygen. The hydrogen atom is designated the smallest particle of matter, but the physicists assert that there is yet within it the electron, an electrical charge, which travels at the rate of 100,000 miles</p>
<p>Energy: Motion and Heat</p>	<p>a second. Within this particle of matter there is this terrific motion, this infinite smallness. The stars, the molecules, the atoms, all are in motion, hurtling through space at tremendous,</p>

incomprehensible speeds. Energy is everywhere. In the one form it is motion, in the other, heat; and the one can always be changed into the other. Matter itself, though the stars be disrupted and the molecules broken, cannot be destroyed. Man perceives the unlimited spaces of the outward universe; he discovers the infinite smallness of the immediate: all enduring, all moving and changing, yet always remaining. In relation to his position on earth man seems at the vantage of vision; the vista of infinite greatness is balanced by the vista of infinite smallness.

By the aid of these vistas man finds his life upon the earth. As the night brings the stars, so the day brings the sun, which is only one of the stars and a small one in comparison with the monarchs of space; but so near is it that its brilliance excludes the light of all others. Moving at a speed of twelve miles a second, turning on its axis once in about twenty-five days, and burning at a very great temperature, this body proceeds through the universe, no man knows whither. But it does not go alone, for encircling it, controlled by it, warmed by it, are eight other bodies, the planets, which complete the solar system. The sun is seven hundred times greater in mass than all of these planets combined. Mercury is the smallest and nearest to the sun, its surface parched and seared by the sun's fiercest heat. Venus, the second planet, is enveloped in a heavy cloudy atmosphere, too dense for any observation of its surface. The Earth is the third planet, and the largest of the minor ones. Mars, the fourth of these minor planets, and fourth in distance from the sun as well, is one of the most brilliant objects of our heavens; but its chief interest lies in the peculiar lines that the telescope shows on its surface, for these lines are possibly canals and this would indicate that intelligent life may exist upon its surface. Beyond Mars, across the gap where the hundreds of meteoritic planets swing, are the four great planets: Jupiter, the largest of all; Saturn with its rings and numerous moons; Uranus and Neptune, whose appearance indicates that they are not yet completely solidified. Bound into a system by the gravitational power of the sun, these bodies follow the latter across the limitless regions of space.

The Solar System

Among the stars there are a great number of cloud-like patches of luminous matter called "nebulae." More than 500,000 of them have been discovered, and two are visible to the naked eye. They are of many types and forms, one of which, the spiral nebula, is asserted to be the evolutionary ancestor of the solar system. More than 120,000 of these spiral nebulae are known to astronomers. At the center of the spiral nebula is a large, compact nucleus of matter; in the outer regions are dispersed masses, scattered fragments, and fugitive gases, unaggregated, and loosely revolving about the

The Origin of the Solar System

**The Nebular-Plan-
etesimal
Hypothesis of the
Origin of
the Solar
System**

central nucleus. Slowly the larger masses gather the loose material of the nebula and become planets, the nucleus becomes a sun, and the nebula disappears by transformation into a solar system. This is the nebular-planetesimal hypothesis of the origin of the earth. Recent discoveries which throw light upon the composition of nebulae, and indicate that the materials in them are insufficient for the formation of solar systems, weaken the validity of the hypothesis.

**The His-
tory of
the Earth**

Nevertheless, it is in this way that the astronomers and geologists describe the evolution of the solar system and, with it, the earth, *i. e.*, from a nebula which once existed within the space roughly bounded by the orbit of the planet Neptune. For millions of years the materials collected until each of the planets became distinct, and the nucleus assumed its position as the sun. And today the materials are still coming to the earth. It has been estimated that 400,000,000 meteorites swarm to the earth's atmosphere and surface daily, most of which are small like peas or weigh only a few hundred pounds and add, as they come, not more than 1/1000 of an inch to the earth's surface in a million years.

**Aggrega-
tion of
Nebular
Materials**

In the beginning it seems that the earth, rather than being molten, was cold and lifeless; only as the aggregation of the nebular materials caused a transformation of their motions into heat, was warmth acquired. Such a transformation is seen in the meteorites which rush into our atmosphere and then burst into flames as resistance checks their motion. They are seen as falling or shooting stars and some which reach the surface cannot be touched for hours. The impact of the attracted bodies upon the original earth-mass was undoubtedly sufficient to generate a heat great enough to melt both the original mass and the incoming materials. As a result the heavier substances gathered in the center of the molten globe; and just as slag rises to the surface in the blast furnace, so the lighter substances rose to the surface and cooled into a thick outer crust of rock, rich in quartz and metals. Substances in a gaseous state were held in a blanketing stratum against the surface, and within the depressions of this surface, as cooling went on, the vapor in the atmosphere collected as water. Thus the original surface of the earth was divided into continents and oceans, and enveloped by the atmosphere.

**The First
Surface**

**The Geo-
logic
Processes**

This first surface was not to endure forever. The continuous cooling of the earth contracted the hot masses of the interior so that the lighter crust crumpled in upon the central core. Stresses arising from this contraction and consequent crumpling caused slow risings and sinkings of the earth's surface, with constant alterations of its land and water areas. This "diastrophism," as the process is called, slowly reshaped both the continents with their

heights and the oceans with their depths. The process goes on today. Florida with its long and sandy beaches is rising; New England with its headlands, islands, and estuaries is sinking. In the more violent action of vulcanism, the heat of internal combustion explodes, strewing ashes and spreading lava over adjacent areas. Dust thrown into the upper atmosphere by the explosion of the volcano Krakatao is said to have encircled the earth eight times. These slow and violent internal forces are aided by the action of external agents. Water is the master sculptor. By freezing and thawing it breaks mountains of rock into grains of sand; by chemical action it dissolves some substances, such as lime and salt, and carries them away into great deposits. By flowing from the heights to the oceans, water cuts away the mountains, rends plains into hills, then flattens the hills to yet lower plains, and carries the débris of its carving into the oceans and lakes, where it builds up new rock formations in successive strata. Animals and plants take food from these quiet waters, live, die, and leave their skeletons on the bottom to build up through the ages new strata of limestone. When water is frozen into glaciers it grinds mountains to dust, carries them away, and melts at last to leave the débris in new hills and plains. The movements of the atmosphere, winds, working with these other forces, sweep dust and sand from place to place. But all areas do not retain the same climates forever. Drought and heavy rainfall have crossed and recrossed the same regions. Tropical heat has moved far to the north; arctic cold has invaded temperate areas. The causes of these greater climatic changes are as yet uncertain, but they seem to be part of the cosmic adjustments made necessary by shifts of the earth on its axis, variations in the earth's orbit, and disturbances in the sun's atmosphere.

Students of these geologic processes divide the history of the earth into five great stages, each lasting through millions of years. The changes which marked these eras gave the earth's surface its present characteristics.

The Geologic Ages

The first of the geologic ages, the Archæozoic, or the period of primal life, was untold millions of years in length. Volcanoes poured lava and ashes over the surface of the earth; the oldest known rocks and many deposits of silver, copper, nickel, cobalt, and iron were formed. Outcrops of these geologic activities are found in northeastern Canada, Scandinavia, Central Africa, Brazil, India, and China. There is no evidence to prove the existence of life; but the occurrence of rather highly developed forms of life in later periods has brought the assumption that organic matter had its beginning in this period.

Archæozoic Era

Conditions much like those of the present were established

Proterozoic Era

during the second of the ages, the Proterozoic, or the period of primitive life. The remains show that many rocks were laid down in the water. The iron and copper ores of the Lake Superior region were the most important deposits left for modern men. The existence of limestone formations implies but does not prove the presence of life. The duration of the period was probably many millions of years.

Paleozoic Era

In the next period, the Paleozoic, occurred the great events which were basic in the formation of the present surface of the earth. At one time or another in its duration of tens of millions of years—probably longer than all subsequent time—the entire area of North America, except the ancient rocks of Canada and a small area near what is now the southern end of the Appalachian Mountains, was at the bottom of the sea. Great layers of limestone and sandstone were formed there. In the early part of the period the earth's crust crumpled somewhat in what is now New England, uplifting and folding the masses of rock which are the mountains of that region. During this upheaval the Vermont marbles were formed. Later activity formed the iron, gas, and petroleum deposits of New York, Pennsylvania, and Alabama. During the later part of the period a general emergence raised the surface to sea level or slightly above it. In these great marshes and swamps the plant life of the period thrived, and left as remains the great coal beds of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Texas. With the coal some iron was formed, as well as small amounts of oil and gas in Oklahoma and Kansas. At the end of the period the seas withdrew, the Appalachian Mountains were heaved up, and life, which had undergone great evolution during the period, was compelled to meet the drier and colder conditions of the new era.

Mesozoic Era

This new era, the Mesozoic, brought further emergences at one time or another. The North American continent, from the fall-line on the east to the Sierra Nevadas on the west, at one time or another became dry land. Great chalk deposits were laid down in a sea which extended from Mexico to the Arctic Ocean. In the West some small coal beds were formed. At about the middle of the age, the Sierra Nevadas were uplifted for the first time; in the later part of the era the great mountain systems, the Cordilleras, which include both the Rockies and the Andes and extend from Alaska to Cape Horn, were folded. A general submergence along the Atlantic coast and around the Gulf of Mexico marked the close of the period. Life during this age was featured by the supremacy of the reptiles. Some ten million years is the estimated duration of the period.

The last of the great geologic ages, the Cenozoic, was marked

by the advent of mammals, the dominant forms of present life. Early in the age the coal deposits of North Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana were laid down. A little later, while the phosphates of Florida and the oil of Louisiana were being formed, volcanoes poured lava and ashes over an area now included in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Such local activities were only part of the world-wide disturbances which added the last prominent characteristics to the present surface of the earth.

The Ceno-
zoic Era

All in all, it seems that there have been three sets of continents and oceans on the earth; the present set was created by the disruption of an ancient continent which extended from central South America across Central Africa to Malaysia, and the uplifting and folding of the bed of an ancient ocean which lay between this old southern continent and a northern continent of which northeastern Canada and the rocky cliffs of Scotland are remnants. This mighty transformation was completed by a further uplifting of northeastern Asia, and the consequent upheaval of the Himalaya, Hindu Kush, Caucasus, and Atlas Mountains, the Alps and the Apennines. At the same time the Rocky Mountains and the great western plateau of North America were completed. In this diastrophic movement the old sea-bed was raised to form the plains of Central Asia and North America. The great fault line which is marked by the African lakes, the Red Sea, the Ægean, and the Adriatic, broke the lands of the Eastern Hemisphere into two divisions, while the sinking of Malaysia separated Australia from the northern continent, and at the same time a submergence of the Caribbean region all but separated the American continents. About the high ridges of these recent foldings were the great plains, the areas of stratified rocks, the eroded bases of older mountain systems, which form most of the hills, valleys, and plains of the present surface.

The Great
Changes in
the Land
and Water
Areas

The Fold-
ing of the
Great
Mountain
Systems

After these great disturbances there followed a series of Ice Ages. Four times, at least, glaciers formed over the ancient rocks of northwestern and northeastern Canada, Scandinavia, and north-central Asia, spread widely, and then melted back. These ice sheets cut away the old mountains of Labrador and Scandinavia, and bore them southward where they remain in the moraines and surface soils which extend across America from the Missouri River to Massachusetts, and across Europe through France and Germany. China is covered with similar glacial drift. By this uplifting, grinding, and hewing, the present soils were derived from the ancient rocks. The changes in temperature, the action of water, and the movement of the air have prepared them, and have carried them forth where they remain as the breast of Mother Nature for the nurture of the present land-life of the earth.

The Gla-
cial Ages

It is estimated that some three or four millions of years were required to complete these latest developments in the history of the earth, and the very present may be only another of the interludes between the retreat and the advance of the glaciers.

**The De-
velopment
of Life**

As has already been noted, life is assumed to have existed in the first geologic age after the formation of the earth from the stuff of the original nebula. The names of the geologic ages, indeed, have been taken from the stages in the development of life from its simplest forms to its most complex forms. Modern science assumes the early existence of life; but its origin is wrapped in the mystery which surrounds that of the universe. Whence came the energy which moves in the matter of the stars, in the solar system, in the

**The As-
sumed
Origin of
Life**

molecules, and in the atoms? Whence came, and what is life? No one knows. Its existence is a fact of human experience, so basic in all human thinking that it cannot be doubted on a logical basis. It is a fact that must be accepted as true without a knowledge of its origin (and undoubtedly it is one of the few facts, if not the only one, that has so high a prerogative); and yet, though its origin is unknown, its development into present forms has been at least partially discovered. Throughout the geologic ages, the process of biological evolution has been operating to produce the present forms of living things. These living things, together with the features of the earth, unite to complete man's physical environment.

**The Char-
acteristics
of Living
Matter**

Living matter is characterized by several attributes. A living organism has the capacities for renewing and repairing its self-substance, and for the absorption of energy from the forms of matter and for its expenditure. It grows, and then reproduces itself. Furthermore, it is sensitive to other forms and conditions of matter, and has the power to respond to these varying conditions. These processes—metabolism, the transformation of matter taken as food into tissue and strength of body; irritability or sensitivity, the adjustment and adaption of its existence to surrounding conditions; and reproduction, the creation of new units like itself—are common to all forms of life. Even though these processes in their chemical aspects find analogies in the inorganic world, the synthesis of their functioning is present only in living things.

**The Living
Substance
Protoplasm**

The original life-substance, so far as man knows, is called "protoplasm," which is a white pasty compound consisting chiefly of carbon, oxygen, and nitrogen, with several other chemical elements as minor constituents. It is the most complex of all chemical substances, and no accurate statement of its composition is yet possible. Under the microscope it appears to be full of numberless minute granules, all in ceaseless and rapid motion, but no microscope powerful enough to reveal its structure has yet

been devised. "This protoplasm, unanalyzable, ultra-microscopic, endowed with all of the qualities of the highest plant or animal—metabolism, movement, irritability, adaptability, growth, reproduction and such immortality as has sufficed to continue unbroken the slender chain of existence from the beginning of life on earth, and will so long as life endures—is one of the greatest wonders of the world!"¹ It is a constituent part of all living matter.

From this original stuff have developed the myriads of living things now inhabiting the earth. The lowest of these forms are the bacteria. These are very minute, usually globular or rod-shaped, with seemingly unlimited powers of adaptation to the physical environment. Wherever life is possible, there they exist, feeding on inert matter and the dead materials of the organic world. In this capacity, they form a link in that chain of life which carries matter from inorganic to its highest organic forms, and back again. They were the first stage in the development of present forms of life.

Next above these minute organisms were the first single cells, the plant yeast spores and the animal protozoa. These single cells, especially the protozoa, possessed all of the higher attributes of life—movement, the capacity to seize and digest particles of matter as food, and the ability to "feel their way" or to learn by "trial and error." In this latter ability appeared the primitive sensitiveness which developed into human consciousness. All present forms of higher life represent aggregates developed by the specialization of these original cells into cells with particular functions, such as the blood corpuscles, bone, muscle, nerve, and germ cells of the animal body. A living organism represents the orderly functioning of diverse cells in one continuous adjustment to the environment.

The separation of the forms of life into the two divisions of plants and animals was one of the great events in the history of life. The essential difference between them is that the plants get their food, by means of bacteria, from the inorganic solids, liquids, and gases; while the animals must subsist directly upon organic foods, either upon plants, or upon animals which feed upon plants. As a result of this difference in food supply the plants are rooted to the soil or float in water, while the animals, by combining oxygen with plant food, develop energy, and in all but a few cases obtain the power of movement. Structurally, the first animal, which was only a mass of sticky protoplasm, was lower than the first plant, the yeast spore. The latter was enveloped in an outer coat of cellulose, and possessed a substance, chlorophyl, the green

Bacteria

The Single Cell

The Many-Celled Body

The Plants and the Animals

¹ R. S. Lull, *Organic Evolution*, p. 22.

matter in leaves of plants, by which the energy of the sun is taken into the plant.

Sex

The appearance of sex in these two divisions of life was another significant event in their early development. In the lowest organisms reproduction is accomplished by the process of dividing the parent cell in two. Occasionally, however, two like cells join together and exchange materials. In this fusion of materials was the stimulus to the development of the sexes, for the resulting offspring had an increased vitality and a greater range of variability, and in consequence enjoyed a greater power of survival. The specialization of the species into two forms, male and female, has made the sex motive a fundamental element in the behavior of all higher organisms.

Formation of the Ani- mal Body

Following these fundamental changes, other developments served to carry life forward into higher and higher forms. Such organisms as sea-anemone, coral, and jellyfish began the task of building the present animal body. In them appeared the two layers of cells, the ectoderm, or the skin, and the entoderm, or the internal membranes. Within these have been formed the organs of the body: the process has been that of the specializing of cells for specific functions. In the earthworms, these two layers were segmented, and were provided with muscle fibres which gave a greater power of movement. Blood vessels, nerve cells, and a rudimentary eye were evolved. The orifice for taking food became an armed mouth, so that the earth worms could (and did) fight. As one authority declares, with the appearance of earth worms, the age of pacifism ended, and that of struggle for domination between members of the same species began. Here was the origin of individual competition.

Earth Worms

Insects

The descendants of the worms carried life forward toward higher types. The insects with an external skeleton and the separation of the segments of the worm into three divisions, head, thorax, and abdomen, represent one line of advance. Highly specialized sense organs and the indefinite body of impulses known in the higher forms as instincts appear to have developed in this line of advance. Bees and wasps, the highest of the insects, are known to have existed in the Mesozoic era. Another line of the worm's posterity was at first much like the worm but was transformed by the evolution of an interior skeleton. This line of development includes the vertebrates, or animals with a backbone, and carried life through the evolution of forms from the fish to man. The backbone probably developed to meet the need for a greater facility of movement. The Cambrian, or the first, period of the Paleozoic era, presents in its innumerable fossils seven of the eight types of the now existing branches of life, and the eighth

The Verte- brates: Fish

type, the vertebrates, appears in the form of fish in the fourth period of the era, the Devonian. Great sharks ruled these ancient seas, and a fish, now represented by the gar-pike and the sturgeon, was their companion and prey. This fish was in all probability the ancestor of the amphibians which carried animal life to the land.

The time of the passage of plant life to land can only be surmised, but it must have been long before animals had reached the hard surface of the continents. When the animals came in the shape of the amphibians of later Paleozoic times, they found the land covered with the great tree-ferns and mosses which were filling the marshes with the carbon that was to become the coal of today. At some remoter time, of the myriad of sea plants tossed upon the muddy shore of the primeval sea some obtained the capacity of living beyond the permanent water line. This capacity was developed in a root to draw water from the ooze of the shore, and with this root to take water from the soil the plants developed and spread until today, after millions of years, the mosses, the ferns, the palms, the pines, the leafed trees, the grasses, the flowering trees, shrubs, and vines cover the earth. The flowering and fruiting plants are the greatest creation of vegetable evolution. Four-sevenths of the existing species of plants belong to this class. They appeared in late Mesozoic times. The grasses did not become wide-spread until early Cenozoic times.

**The Pass-
age of
Plant Life
to Land**

**Flowering
Plants.**

Grasses

In the swamp lands of the early Paleozoic era the ganoids or fish were forced to a life in a decreasing amount of water. Slowly, it seems, their air-bladders were transformed into lungs. Later the fins became jointed and changed into legs. The first of these transformations is still observable in the lung-fish. The new creature was able to live either in the water or on land, but it returned to the water to lay its eggs. The frogs, in their development from tadpoles living in the water to adults breathing air and living either in water or on land, repeat this atavistic passage of animal life from the seas to the continents. In this passage the chief gains were an enlarged circulatory system, a higher temperature of the blood, and keener senses of smell and sight.

**The Pass-
age of Ani-
mal Life
to Land**

Once life had reached land in the shape of amphibians, animal existence developed new forms. Means of locomotion suited to the hard surface of the earth, an outer covering for protection against the more rapid changes of temperature and the blows received in movement, and a digestive tract suitable for new foods were evolved. In the great reptiles nature seems to have attempted to conquer the environment with sheer bulk. The size of the fossils of such monsters as the dinosaur makes the fairy-tale dragon seem

Reptiles

a pygmy, and the reptile, which was a flesh-eater, was undoubtedly the dragon's master in ferocity.

Birds

The flying reptiles were the ancestors of the modern birds. *Archæopteryx* represents the transition from these reptiles to the birds with their specialized structures, wings, beak, and feathers, but the birds retained the reptilian egg-laying method of reproduction. They appear to have attained their present forms in early Cenozoic times.

Mammals

Great bulk and small brain failed in the struggle for existence, and left the earth to a new form of animal life, the mammals. In all probability these sprang from a minor branch of the vegetable-eating reptiles. At first these new forms retained the reptilian method of reproduction, but the later and true mammals developed a unique specialization of function, in that the female bore and nursed the young. Warm blood made it possible for the mammals to survive in the colder temperatures which the approach of the Ice Age made the selective factor in the environment. The upheaval of the continents and the creation of plains with their covering of grasses, gave the conditions for the evolution of such grazing types of animals as the horse, the camel, the cow, the sheep, and the goat. The early Ice Ages saw the supremacy of the great mammals: the saber-tooth tiger, the mastodon, and the like. The later Ice Ages witnessed their decline, and the survival of those dominant types of the animals which now roam the plains and forests, burrow the earth, graze our pastures, and share our homes. Through all of these ages the growth of the brain went steadily forward.

Each of these advances came about by the method of evolution. By the selection of the most serviceable traits carried in the germ plasm, and by the living organism's capacity to meet the changing conditions of the environment (especially those great changes brought by the geologic events which created the present surface), this long evolution from the protoplasmic cell to the present forms of vegetable and animal life was achieved. In this development, the earth and life maintained that adjusted relationship within which struggle and change were continuous, and new forms replaced old forms only by proving their superiority in the face of physical conditions and in the competition with other forms of life.

The Physical Environment in America

The physical conditions of present American life are the product of this past geological and biological evolution.

Roughly, the North American continent may be divided into some seven geographic areas, each representing the work of special geologic activity. From the St. Lawrence River north to approxi-

mately the lower end of Hudson Bay is "the Archæan V," or "the Laurentian Shield," a region of granite rocks, worked by age-long erosion, and denuded of soils by more recent glaciation. These rocks are the remains of Archæozoic formations. The ice, which swept them clean, gouged out the basins now filled by the Great Lakes, uncovered the iron ores of the Lake Superior district, and carried its burden on to the south, east, and west. Boulders in some places, sands and gravels in others, and fine loam and loess, as in the prairie region of the upper Mississippi Valley, were spread upon the older surface. Many rivers were choked by the débris, and the result was the formation of the thousands of lakes of Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, and southern Canada.

South and east of the St. Lawrence River, extending to Alabama and Georgia, are the Appalachian Mountains. These were once a great mountain system, now marked only by the remnants of its base. In its folds were formed the anthracite coal deposits of Pennsylvania. To the east of these ridges, south to Florida, from Florida to Texas, and north in the basin of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, are the coastal plains. Along the shores are swamps and salt marshes; farther inland are belts of clay, limestone, and sand. The clay belt is the home of "King Cotton." The stony and sandy regions are the home of the southern pine forests which furnish quantities of lumber, tar, and turpentine.

North of the gulf coastal plain and west of the Appalachian Mountains, roughly bounded by the Great Lakes, the Ohio River, and the Missouri, is the area covered by the loose glacial drift and underlaid by the coal beds of Paleozoic formation. This great central plain of low undulating hills and open prairies is the "Middle West." Here available supplies of iron, copper, and coal, a soil of unequaled quality, and a climate variable but certain in both heat and moisture, combine to promote the industry and the agriculture which has given to the region the designation, "the heart of America."

Farther west are two more plains regions. From Nebraska north across western Dakota, and far into Canada are the eroded remains of an ancient mountain system. South through Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas are high plains built up by débris brought from the Rocky Mountains. These plains were once the domain of the cowboy; but in recent years the farmer and the sheep herder have largely overthrown his supremacy.

The entire western portion of the continent is a recent geological formation. Ancient sedimentary rocks have been uplifted, folded, broken, and tilted; lavas have been poured over them; and they have been strewn with ashes. Out of this confusion has come the

The Geo-
graphic
Divisions
of North
America.
The Gla-
ciated
Areas "The
Archæan
V"

The Great
Lakes and
the Gla-
cial Drift
Regions

The Ap-
palachian
Mountains

The At-
lantic and
Gulf
Coastal
Plains

The Great
Central
Plain

The North-
west and
Southwest
Plains

The
Cordilleras

grandeur which makes the "West" America's scenic paradise. Here such minerals as petroleum, gold, silver, lead, and copper constitute the chief sources of wealth.

**The
General
Climate**

The climate of any region determines its habitability. Since the United States is entirely within the north temperate zone, it has a moderate climate with a mean annual temperature ranging from 75° in the south to 40° in the north. Such a range gives a growing season which varies from the entire year to about one hundred days. Thus no part of the area is uninhabitable and barren of fruitful growth. The diversities of climate provide the possibility of special developments in different regions, regions which topography and prevailing winds establish to the number of five.

**The Cy-
clone Area
of the
North and
East**

Surface winds are always variable in direction, but the general air currents of the Northern Hemisphere move regularly from west to east. Coming from the Pacific Ocean they rise over the Rocky Mountains, and form into a procession of "cyclones" and "anti-cyclones" which give rather an even flow of weather to the eastern areas of the country. These cyclones appear over Colorado and British Columbia, and take either a northern or a southern path to the Atlantic coast. In the north-central and northeastern areas they break the hot summers and cold winters with a more or less regular cycle of warm, moist days, followed by rain or snow. This is succeeded by clearing weather and lower temperatures, after which the cycle begins anew. Thunder storms, tornadoes, and blizzards are variations from the milder phenomena of the general storm. In this mixture of weather, men are exhilarated, driven. Some of the nervous and vibrant energy of the "Northerner" may have its origin in these weather changes.

**"The
Sunny
South"**

In the warmer southern states, storms from the Gulf of Mexico often unite with these continental cyclones to increase the rainfall.

**The Arid
Plains**

Along the eastern base of the Cordilleras, and in the high plains regions, the temperature ranges greatly, and the rainfall is relatively light. The cyclones as they sweep down into the central plain pass them without releasing their burdens of moisture. In

**The Arid
Mountains**

the summer months the western mountain slopes receive heavier precipitation. In the winter, due to the elevation, low temperatures prevail. Along the Pacific coast the westerly winds, as they strike the coast ridges, produce two contrasting seasons. During the winter, when the land is colder than the water, there are continuous mists and rains. In the summer, when the reverse condition exists, the vapors rise over the coast region to become the rainfall of the Rocky Mountains and central plains. The Pacific Ocean provides 29 per cent of the rainfall of the continent, the Gulf of Mexico 56 per cent, and the Atlantic Ocean most

**The Mild
Pacific
Coast**

of the remainder. The climate of North America affords contrasts and irregularities more numerous than those of Europe.

In these diversities of climate are found the cause of the specialization in plant and animal life which mark the country. Originally, great forests covered the coastal plains, the eastern mountains, the northern lake regions, and the friendly valleys of the western highlands. These forests thinned out into the woodlands of the rolling country, and disappeared entirely in the prairies. Grass and low-growing shrubs spread a variegated blanket over the central plains and up to the very slopes of the eastern Rockies. Desert conditions prevailed in the western plateau, but there, too, plant life thrived in watered valleys. One great plant crop was native to the continent—Indian corn—while the temperate climate and rich soils offered a new home to the grains and fruits of the Old World. No domesticated animal, except the dog, was found among the Indians; but the continent was ideal for the propagation of the animals which the invading Europeans brought. Moderate temperatures, plentiful rainfall, and fertile soils spread in a varying pattern over the continent, provide the basis for a rich and diversified agriculture, the first requirement for a great human society.

Metallic ores, coal, and petroleum, all the products of long geologic processes, awaited the energies and knowledge of civilized people. In fact, no other area of the earth's surface is so generously supplied with the natural resources upon which advanced civilization rests. The fertile soils and the virgin forests, together with deposits of ores, coal, and oil, offered to the incoming white people the opportunity of establishing a civilization with unprecedented resources in material wealth. The development was as phenomenal as it was speedy.

Climate and natural resources together make the North American continent an ideal home for a high type of civilization.

A full realization of the significance of these diversities of topography, climate, plants, and animals comes only when they are thought of in relation to the evolutionary process. The interlocked adjustment of plants and animals to one another, to the variations of climate, to the diversities of land and water forms, to the nurture of the soils, and to the greater forces which stabilize yet leave dynamic the material universe—this complexity of relationships is for man "the physical environment." Out of this, as the animals evolved under the enforced struggle for existence, he himself came as "the animal with the upturned face." "Man is the product of the earth's surface. This means not merely that he is the child of the earth, dust of her dust; but that the earth has mothered him, fed him, set him tasks, directed his

**The Plant
and Animal
Factors in the
Environment**

**The Deposits
of Ores, Coal,
and Oil**

**The Physical
Environment
and the
Life of
Man**

**The Elements
of the Physical
Environment**

**General
Influence
on the Life
of Man**

thoughts, confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and sharpened his wits, given him problems of navigation and irrigation; and at the same time whispered hints for their solution. She has entered into his bone and tissue, into his mind and soul."² Human life, individual and social, has never escaped the shaping power of natural forces.

**On Food
Supply
and Popu-
lation**

In the first instance these forces establish the ease or the fierceness of the struggle for existence. The most plentiful product at hand becomes the usual article of food, and men set themselves to secure it, either by taking it as a gift of nature, or by cultivating it. Thus the primitive Australian sought to multiply his favorite grub worms by religious rites; and the first great engineering projects were for the irrigation of wheat, maize, and rice lands. In modern Japan where the growth of an injurious bamboo grass prevents the keeping of domestic animals, the diet is largely vegetable, with fish supplying a meat substitute. When food is plentiful, the exertions of men are reduced to a minimum; and if this condition is accompanied by heat and moisture, they seldom rise above savagery. Thus the tropics have never produced a great civilization. A German scholar has declared that "man is what he eats," and although this is not entirely true, it is a fact that diet does quite largely determine the physique and health of a people. Furthermore, the supply of food is a prime factor in limiting the growth of population. Malthus, an economist of the early nineteenth century, declared it to be the sole factor. He asserted that a population always increases faster than the food supply, and that, therefore, population always presses upon the means of subsistence, with the poor and the weak facing imminent starvation. Present opinion does not entirely agree with this pessimistic view, but it does admit that the amount of food available plays a part in determining the numbers of a people.

On Race

In the distribution of men over the earth, types have been bred to a life in certain environments. The Japanese and Europeans, it seems, cannot breed new generations in tropical climates; neither can Negroes survive the rigors of the colder climates most favorable for the white race. Race, as a distinguishing mark among the peoples of the earth, may be looked upon as the result of ages of selection by diverse physical conditions. Race may be an indication of the adjustment which human life has made to the great features of the physical environment.

**On Man's
Energy**

Man seems to be most energetic in regions having a mean annual temperature between 50° and 70°, ranging from freezing to above 90°. The temperate zones, and particularly those areas frequented by cyclonic storms, seem to excite men to the greatest

² Ellen C. Semple, *Influence of Geographic Environment*, p. 1.

activity. At least the centers of highest civilization are in such areas—north-central and northeastern United States, western and west-central Europe, and Japan.

The diversities of nature express themselves in human action. The plains develop restlessness and nomadism; mountains accentuate man's daring; wooded countries arouse his spirit of adventure and enterprise; the desert and the open places sober him. The individual is a child of the earth and he cannot escape it. His food is determined by the plants and animals about him; his occupation is created by the resources on the surface and in the depths of the earth; his temperament is molded in part by nature's wonders and moods.

On Character

Just as the individual is partially shaped in nature's mold, so also is social organization influenced by the factors in the physical environment. Valleys and streams were the roads along which men first traveled in their wanderings. Mountains, oceans, and great streams originally were barriers. The first well ordered societies appeared in secluded regions favorable to agriculture, such as the Nile and Euphrates valleys. Vantage points for trade or defense, junctures of roads, mountain passes, and natural fortresses have always been chosen as the sites for cities. Today there is no great city which is far removed from some large river or body of water. The historical view of civilization's development shows constantly recurring examples of these effects of the physical environment in determining the social contacts between peoples.

On Contacts among Men

In the development of modern peoples nationality has been a great force, and this in turn shows the power of the physical environment. A map marking the nationalities of Europe is seen to reduplicate in block pattern the essential features of the continent's structure. "Beyond the Alps lies Italy," is a classical recognition of this geographic factor. Switzerland is nestled in the inaccessible heights of the Alps, but Belgium, "the battle-ground of Europe," is at the mouth of the open road from eastern Europe to the Atlantic coast. In modern diplomacy the principle of "natural frontiers" is an acceptance of "geographic determinism." In recent times nations have quarreled and fought over outlets to the seaways, over deposits of ores, coal, and oils, and over areas suitable for colonization and commercial exploitation. Indeed, the issues in modern wars have been in their basic phases an expression of the force of the physical environment in politics.

On Political Organization

In still another way the physical factor is affecting the organization of society. Under modern conditions industry is becoming specialized by geographic areas. The great manufacturing centers have developed near the sources of coal and iron, and the great commercial districts are along the world's natural highways. Some

On Economic Organization

regions are given over to special crops. In America we have such regions in the "range country," "the wheat fields," "the corn belt," and "the cotton belt." England's domination in world trade and finance is in some respects related to her geographic position at the center of the hemisphere in which are the great land areas. Modern economic organization exhibits an increasing dependence upon products drawn from areas favorable for their production. Thus man achieves a fuller utilization of the productive elements in the physical environment.

In the forms and stuff of the earth are found the conditions and materials which provide the physical bases of human existence. Their slow modification by the geologic processes make them a permanent driving force in the greater phenomena of social evolution.

**Influence
of the
American
Physical
Environ-
ment on
American
Social De-
velopment**

Each of these general influences of the physical environment are observable in American life. The wealth of the country in soils and mineral deposits permits the rapid growth of population. Ethnologists have ascribed to the effects of climate certain physiological changes evident in the descendants of the earlier immigrants. Reference has been made to the corn and cotton "belts," which represent quite clearly an economic specialization by geographical regions. Manufacturing is centered near the sources of power and raw materials through the north-central and eastern states. The climates of Florida, lower Texas, and parts of the Pacific coast region make them the vegetable and fruit producing areas of the nation. The great economic development of recent times was possible only because the technical advances in industry and communication made easy the exploitation of a virgin continent.

**Effects on
Political
Organiza-
tion**

Certain effects of the physical environment on American politics are easily observable. A little more than three centuries ago the first Europeans dared to risk a voyage over three thousand miles of water to live in a wilderness. Two facts are pertinent in this event: the distance from the Old World, and the life in the wilderness. The expanse of water served to isolate these settlers from the centers of civilization, and made it impossible for their mother country, England, to govern them effectively. This partial independence was finally made complete, and "isolation" became traditional in the new nation's foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine is its classic expression. Even in our day, the turbulent Atlantic was nearly broad enough to prevent America's participation in the great World War. In the development of the new nation the physical features of the continent were a contributing factor. As the first settlers worked inland and approached the ridges of the Appalachian Mountains, their advance was checked;

**Isolation,
Independ-
ence, No
Entangle-
ments**

and not until a stable life developed along the seaboard was the mountain barrier pierced. When finally the mountains were passed, the relatively compact population of the coast regions was a firm support to those who risked the further westward venture. No small part of the unity of the American people and of their success in winning the continent is due to the retarding of their inland movement by this mountain chain. When, however, the conquest of the continent had been made, the diversities of the physical environment created social and political divisions. "Sectionalism," that peculiar condition in American life in which the population of a large area is set against the population of another area for political advantage, is largely a reflection of the geographic regions of the country. The divergence of the North and South in the question of slavery was due in some measure to the climate of the North, which made negro slave-labor unprofitable. The West, too, has always been a factor in American politics. Andrew Jackson represents its first rise to power. Today it is the Middle West which challenges the leadership of the East for the control of the nation's destinies.

**Unity and
Expansion**

**Sectional-
ism**

It would be wrong, however, to find "sectional division" the chief effect of the physical environment on the American people. Considering the area which they inhabit, no group of people in the world is less divided. The one outstanding fact about the American population is its homogeneity. Sectionalism is certainly less subversive to unity than the nationalism which features European life. Thus from Maine to California, and from Texas to Minnesota, the general elements in the physical environment aid the development of a common life, wherein men retain local qualities but share in universal characteristics which preserve and enhance the national unity.

**The Homo-
geneity of
the Ameri-
can People**

Where the distance from Europe worked to establish political independence and the "isolation policy" of diplomacy, the life in the wilderness gave an individualistic character to the men and their society. The crowning effect of the physical environment has been upon the personal qualities of the American. The rôle of the frontier, where men had to struggle against the rigors of an unconquered physical environment, cannot be overestimated in explaining the formation of American character. From the very first it operated to select either the most needy or the most courageous of Old Europe's population, and these were thrown into a life where old customs and conventions were useless. They lived by making new adjustments and the effects were reflected in the development of an assertive individualism, independence, and resourcefulness. The European settlers were revitalized. In the westward movement the frontier continued until at least 1890, always serving

**Effects of
Frontier
Life on
American
Character**

to reinforce those elements of character which have been recognized as typically American. The disappearance of the frontier is one of the great facts in contemporary American life. The developed qualities of character must now be maintained by their own vitality. In taming the wilderness the European was transformed into the American; now the American and his society must live under the general conditions which the physical environment establishes.

The
Changing
Relation
of Man to
his Physi-
cal En-
vironment

The material universe never ceases to influence the life of man, but the physical environment does not control man. It offers him choices, sometimes hard ones, it is true; but there are choices, and among them he makes selections which oftentimes represent his control over the environment quite as much as its control over him. The "geographic determinists" in their enthusiasm were mistaken as to the environment's sole control over man's development and destiny. The true rôle of the physical environment has been rather that of providing the stimulation which has called forth the energies of his higher nervous organization. The environment has furnished the materials but not the plan of civilization.

Man has
altered his
Environ-
ment

Man does exercise a control over the forces of nature. Primitive man was quite dependent upon the bounty of the fields, forests, and streams, but once he seized a stone or a club to strike for his food he began the conquest of earth, its life, and its resources. And each new discovery added a bit to his sovereignty. Man has used the forces in his environment to master it. He has placed between himself and the "cold, cruel world" of external nature a man-made environment of domesticated plants and animals, houses, clothing, machines, and scientific knowledge, the whole of civilization. Man has altered his relation to the physical environment.

Man's
Utilization
of the Ma-
terials of
the Earth

Nevertheless, the physical environment sets limits within which man must remain. He can live only within a certain restricted range of temperatures, and he must have food, air, and water; indeed, all living things perish when deprived of these. A few thousand feet into the air mark the limits of the only space in the universe, so far as man knows, in which he can exist. But despite these limits man has worked his way from savagery to civilization. As a savage he made few demands upon the earth, but as he advanced he made ever greater and more varied demands for food, materials, and power. As a hunter he became a spoiler, preying upon the animals. In the nineteenth century the bison, the beaver, and the passenger pigeon were either exterminated or expelled from their home in central North America. As an agriculturalist man brought plants, animals, and soils to his service. One-half of the earth's surface is now under cultivation, and a large portion of the remainder is pasture land for domesticated animals. In

recent times, as an industrialist, man has made his greatest demands upon the earth. The depths have given their coal and oil for power, and their minerals for countless industrial purposes. The forests and the fields have been made to yield great supplies of materials for the trades and crafts. In all of this increasing utilization of the earth's resources, man has exploited them for present gain; indeed, he has wasted them without thought of the future needs of his race. He has not recognized that the earth's rich soils, mineral deposits, and forests may in time be exhausted, and leave his descendants to an ever increasing poverty. It is to the credit of the present generation that it has recognized this possibility. "Conservation of natural resources" means, primarily, this recognition. The modern world has realized that the future has claims upon the earth which the present is in duty bound to remember. Constructive measures of conservation involve the elimination of waste, the wise use of existing materials, and the full employment of all available substitutes for easily depleted supplies. Modern civilization attained great material wealth by setting for the individual the prize of riches; but in achieving this wealth, it has come to see the possibility of a future poverty. Now society seeks, by conservation, to prevent such a catastrophe. Indeed, the quest is greater than such a half-success; it is a seeking for a knowledge of the materials of the earth and their uses, to the end that wealth itself may be increased and made more available for all men.

The Con-
servation
of Natural
Resources

Man lives in a dynamic universe, upon a changing earth. Undoubtedly his fate will be determined by the cosmic and geologic processes, and the physical limits of his life, insofar as he can now see, will never be extended. And yet within this narrow field of action man has won an ever greater mastery over the forces and processes of nature. To the savage, nature was harsh; to the ancient, it was niggardly; to the modern, it is generous, if indeed not lavish. But it was man's advancing knowledge which changed the severity to kindliness. The present envisages a security for future man, in a society where a complete utilization of the materials and forces of nature may serve man and release him from all danger coming from any force that it is possible for him to control.

Man and
Nature in
the Fu-
ture

Between the stars and the atoms man's domain shall be achieved; and no man knows its limits.

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CHAPTER IV

MAN AND HIS ORIGINAL NATURE

Man has always been classed with the animals—even to the Middle Ages he was known as the “rational animal”—but his origin and ancestry are not definitely known.

The
Origin and
Evolution
of Man

The older view that present men are the lineal descendants of a first human pair created by a special act of God, is disputed by evidence which indicates that men are, on the contrary, the product of an evolution from some animal existing in early glacial times. Indeed, unless more than one human pair were specially created, the “special creation theory” needs “evolution” to account for existing racial types. Divergences between the races of Europe, Africa, and Asia are hardly less than those which mark the breach between such lowly men as the Veddahs of Ceylon or the Tasmanians and the higher apes. Man, it would seem, is the descendant of some primitive animal which in its several branches is the ancestor of the apes as well. Similarities in bodily structure and the chemical composition of the blood, as well as the close relation of the parasites to which both are hosts, point to the common origin of men and apes. Some students find the immediate ancestor of man to be a member of the chimpanzee-gorilla family, but this is only an assumption. All caution should be used in forming any conclusion as to the direct descent of man. Indeed, the evolutionary theory of man’s origin is most certainly misunderstood when it is considered to mean that man is descended from any existing type of ape. There is no “missing link” between man and the ape, but there is probably an unknown ancestor which links each to the animals lower in the biologic series.

The
Evolution-
ary Theory
of Man’s
Descent

As the evolutionary process brought the earth and its inhabitants forward to the point where the mammals were quite similar in development to those of the present, some of them came to live in the trees of the great continental forests. Such a life quickened their senses of sight, hearing, and touch. In some manner, too, they learned to coöperate with their kind in food-getting and in defense. That line of evolution which has culminated in man is undoubtedly a set-off from this general type.

The Primi-
tive Tree
Dwellers

The Trans-
formation
of the
Tree
Dweller
into Man
during the
Ice Ages

Some great environmental change alone can account for the set-off. Indeed, man has been called a "function of the Ice Age." In the turbulence which the southward moving glaciers caused among the beasts of that primeval time came an intensification of the struggle for existence. Most of the tree-dwellers followed the retreat of the hospitable forests toward the tropics, but some of them, obstinate and conservative, refused to leave their ancient home. The forest dwindled to a thin woodland, and these conservatives were driven to the ground in the search for food. The oscillations of the climate compelled them to readjust their lives continually to maintain existence. These conservatives were forced to become inventors and innovators. Once they had taken to the ground they had to match wits with the fierce flesh-eaters, and in this contest only the quick, the handy, and the tricky survived. Their quickened senses gave them an advantage over most of their competitors. Tree life, likewise, had changed the structure of their chests in such a way that a more erect posture was possible. On the ground, running and scrambling transformed the limb-gripping hind feet into earth-treading feet, and a more erect posture was the result. The same development freed the forearms and hands, to make them the organs of the quickened wits in the battle for life. At the same time the ridges of the brow were lessened, and the eyes became deeply set, with a direct forward vision. While these bodily adaptations were being made, more important transformations were taking place in the mental nature of the animal. In the conflict with the larger and fiercer beasts coöperation proved more and more effective. Probably mutual aid alone made survival possible. Such social action intensified the need for communication between individuals, and the simple calls of the forest became articulate speech. Once speech was employed, these new ground-dwellers found it possible and practical to compare their experiences, and in such comparisons the use of choice and judgment among types of action developed. In time these became human intelligence and reason. Tree life had quickened the senses. Ground life gave erect posture and free arms with the highly specialized hands, both of which made possible many new types of action. Articulate speech and intelligence furthered still more the increase and refinement of activity. As a cumulative result of these coördinate developments came the crowning achievement of biological and social evolution, the greatly enlarged and highly specialized brain. "Indeed, it is the high development of mutual aid, plus a high degree of brain power, plus the existence of something we call spirit or soul in man, all of these interacting on each other to the advantage of the further development of each, that really distinguishes man from other animals,

Changes
in Bodily
Structure

Change in
Mental
Organiza-
tion

and makes him human.”¹ At the end of the Ice Age, as a result of the conflict and terror of the struggle for existence which the extreme environmental conditions imposed, the primitive tree-dweller had been transformed into a man.

As the rocks and the soils have been moved about in the earth-building processes, man, like the other forms of life, has left remains of his existence. Although no remains have been found which can be said to be those of man’s original ancestor, a number of finds establish a line of development which leads back to some such tree-dwelling animal. Such fossils are few, however, because man’s wandering life and probable death in the open made the possibility of the preservation of his remains quite uncertain. So far the discoveries of the fossils of early man have been made along the courses of very old rivers, where his bones were covered with protecting sand or his caves closed to the inroads of destructive agents. In the Nile valley a series of discoveries have demonstrated the presence of man throughout the Ice Age.

The oldest remains thought to be human, however, are those discovered in Java. The sands of an ancient river bed gave up the skull, the femur, and a few teeth of a skeleton. In a congress of experts held at Leyden in 1895, five maintained that the individual represented by the bones was an ape, seven argued that he was a man, and seven others believed him to be an ape-like animal in transition to man. The skull indicated a brain capacity larger than that of any existing ape, but less than that of any living man, or any known human remains. The femur indicated that erect posture was possible. The form of the teeth approached the form of human teeth. It is estimated that this *Java ape-man* or “*Pithecanthropus erectus*,” as he has been called, lived not less than 500,000 years ago.

A recent discovery in South Africa, which some scientists believe to antedate *Pithecanthropus erectus*, seems to indicate the existence of an extinct race of apes intermediate between the living anthropoid apes and man. The fossilized skull is said to belong to a man-like ape rather than to an ape-like man. It should be noted that the environmental conditions which prevail where the fossil of this *Australopithecus africanus* was found correspond in their open woodlands, varying climate, and animal inhabitants to those conditions which the anthropologists assume were necessary for the evolution of man.

Europe has yielded the greatest number of remains of primitive men. A jaw-bone with a full set of teeth found in southwestern Germany is held to be the second oldest specimen. This *Heidelberg*

The
Fossil Re-
mains of
Primitive
Man

The
Paucity of
Human
Fossils

The Java
Ape-Man

Australo-
pithecus
Africanus

Primitive
Man in
Europe

¹ Vernon Kellogg, “The Biologist Speaks of Death,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 127, p. 775.

The Heidelberg Man *man* seems to have been a true human being. Unlike the apes who use their teeth for fighting, he had teeth which were small in comparison with the jaw-bone, and fit only for the grinding of food. He has been given an age of at least 200,000 years. The third oldest remains are of the *Piltdown* or *Sussex man*. He was named from the place in England where his skull and what are possibly his stone weapons were found. His brain was larger than that of his forerunners in this fossil record. He lived some 100,000 years ago. Throughout the central plains of Europe are found the skeletons, flintheads, bone weapons, and knives of men who are known as *Neanderthals*. It seems that these men were hardly as highly developed as the *Piltdown* man, who was much older. They are thought to represent a line of development parallel to, but not a part of, the line which ends in present men. They became extinct some 25,000 years ago.

The Piltdown Man The greatest of all the remains of ancient men have been found in the caves of southern France and northern Spain. These *Crô-Magnon men* have been called the *first true men*. Complete skeletons, together with many articles of primitive life, weapons, and utensils, give evidence of their advances toward civilization; but they left still more important testimonials of their human powers. Upon the walls of their caves, painted in colors of shaded brown and black, are found pictures of reindeer, mammoths, and small ponies. The drawings are quite true to life and show "action." Such qualities make them far superior to the stilted diagrams of familiar savage art. The birth of this artistic element in civilization occurred between 25,000 and 40,000 years ago.

Neanderthal Men *Neolithic men* succeeded these artist-hunters. They had their homes in all parts of the southern slopes of the great Alpine mountain system. About 12,000 years ago they had begun agriculture, domesticated some animals, discovered fire and the simplest uses of metals, and had invented the weaving of cloth, and the making of pottery, and the tanning of skins. The life of their little camps was enlivened by the music of drum and whistle. Descendants of the *Crô-Magnon* and *Neolithic* men are thought to remain among the people of Europe.

The Antiquity of Man As the recesses of the earth are searched the antiquity of man becomes more and more evident. Africa, Asia, and America show evidence of his very early presence on earth. It seems that his existence has not been limited to the last few centuries, but extends back into remote ages. Man is one with the earth, and one with the life of the earth. The unity is recorded in its bosom.

The Peoples of the Earth Where the first men lived has not been ascertained, but it was probably somewhere along the Himalaya mountain ridges which extend from the Black Sea to the China Sea. What their race was,

is likewise uncertain—possibly their color was a muddy white. Long before any historical record, men had reached all parts of the earth and under the diverse conditions of the physical environment had developed into separate races. Whether the physical environment was the determining factor in the foundation of race characteristics is an unanswered question, but increasing evidence supports such a conclusion. Race divisions are not rigid; gradations from one to another are easily observable. Almost least of all is color an index of race. There are millions of Caucasians, the so-called “white race,” who are darker than numerous Mongoloid peoples. The texture of the hair, the thrust of the jaw, and the shape of the head, all are more important than color as race features. No measurable psychological differences have as yet been discovered, but it seems probable that they do exist. On the basis of these combined features a new race classification has superseded the older five divisions based on color. First, there is the African-Australian division, the Negroid race, with kinky hair, forward-thrusting jaw, and long head; second, there is the Asiatic-American group, the Mongoloid race, with straight hair, less prominent jaw, and round skull; and third, there is the European-Polynesian branch, the Caucasian race, with a white or brownish color, wavy hair, a medium jaw, and an oval skull. A few lesser peoples belong outside these primary races, but they constitute barely one per cent of the world’s population, and play little part in the grand drama of civilization.

Within these grand divisions of humanity there are lesser blocks of people. There are two general branches of the Negroid stock, three of the Mongoloid, and four of the Caucasian. Of the latter race, the Hindu people live in southeastern Asia, and the three others, the Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean, inhabit Europe and the connecting lands to Asia and Africa. The Nordics are tall, blue-eyed, blond, and long-headed. Their center of dispersion seems to have been Scandinavia. Now they live across the northern part of the continent. In ancient times the Mediterranean race seems to have occupied the shores of Europe’s great inland sea. They still predominate about its coasts, but in the Balkans and Asia Minor they have been displaced by the Alpine peoples. The former are dark-skinned, dark-eyed, short in stature, and generally long-headed. The latter, although they occupy the area between the Nordics and the Mediterraneans, are more than a transition type between them. They are a sandy, gray-eyed, stocky, round-headed people, and these are characteristics which mark them distinctly from their co-partners in European life.

But history knows little of the race divisions among the European peoples. Only recently has the claim of Nordic supremacy

The
Primary
Races:
Negroid
Mongoloid
Caucasian

The
Caucasian
Racial
Groups:
Nordics
Alpines
Mediterraneans
Hindus

in the achievements of civilization been asserted, and the evidence for it does not warrant the enthusiasm of its supporters. History knows tribes and nationalities rather than races. The Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Romans, the three great peoples of ancient times in the founding of western civilization, were no more than dominant tribes among weaker peoples. The formation of the nationalities which are now the dominating groups of the European and also the world population, took place in the period since the fall of the Roman Empire. A nation may be defined as "a social group bound together by a consciousness of kind which springs from the tradition evoked by the group's historic past, and is directly related to a definite home land."² A nation is the product of common glories and common miseries. Physical environment, common descent, unity of language and religion, and common economic interest lend support to the more general traditions of identity and unity. Four great stages may be noted in the historical development of the modern nations. During the late fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries after Christ, the Teutonic tribes, Nordic by race, overran the decadent Roman Empire. It was during these centuries that the West Goths plundered Rome and moved on into Spain, while the Vandals, ahead of them, crossed to Africa, and sacked Rome from the sea. After them the East Goths settled in the Italian peninsula; and somewhat later the Lombards overran northern Italy. At the same time the Franks and Burgundians occupied Gaul, and the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes invaded Britain. Many lesser tribes took part in the general migrations. Again during the ninth and tenth centuries, as the second stage in the development of modern nationalities, another group of Nordics, the Norsemen, plundered the European coasts and made conquests in England, Normandy, South Italy, and Russia. In the meantime, the Magyars, a Mongoloid people, settled in the Danube River valley, and the Slavic Czechs, Wends, and Poles of the Alpine race pushed into the eastern Germanies. Saracens from Africa added to the confusion of peoples along the southern coasts of the continent. By these invasions the ethnic ingredients of the new nationalities were compounded with the earlier population. The two later stages of the development of nationalities produced the traditions of identity and unity. The struggles of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries brought the emergence of the first modern nations. Between England and France dragged on the Hundred Years' War: an historic enmity appeared, as also new traditions—for England, the victories of Poitiers, Crécy, and Agincourt; for France, the immortal Joan of Arc, who still remains the symbol of French unity. In Spain,

² S. Herbert, *Nationality and its Problems*, p. 37.

the struggle with the Moors afforded a similar cause for the growth of unity. During these same centuries the native speech of the peoples perished, and there were formed from the corrupt Latin the vernaculars which developed into our modern languages. In these developments the new national feelings were given special modes and means of literary expression. In the sixteenth century the Protestant Revolt and the rivalries which came as a result of the discovery of the new world added enmities and struggles which strengthened the recently formed national traditions. The final phase in the rise of the nationalities may be said to have begun with the French Revolution. The shock of this rising of the French people against their feudal masters awakened all of the lesser peoples of Europe, and made of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a period of national struggles.

It should be remembered that the factors determining race and those determining nationality are by no means identical in all respects. The former seem to have been the influences of diverse environmental conditions upon the original migrating peoples, while the latter include the forces of historical development which have operated to create a community of sentiment and interest within a definite body of people. National feeling is a specialization of the fundamental social motive, consciousness of kind, and embodies a keen attachment of the individual to his particular group. It has cut across race lines to divide the more general divisions of the world population into special groups, whose identity and interests are held in the minds of their members to be superior to those either of races or of humanity. Among European peoples this sentiment has become so strong that it seems to be instinctive in quality. One should beware of this confusion. National feeling is not an element in man's original nature, but is a developed tendency shaped by social evolution, and is more important to the study of group life than to that of individual behavior. Since the patriotic sentiment is the essential factor in the formation of the present unit-groups of the world's population, any discussion of human evolution which failed to note its development would be incomplete.

**National
Feeling**

The first men were wanderers over the face of the earth, and their number was small. The most astounding fact revealed by the numerical study of the life of man in modern times is the growth of population. Within the last century the world's population has increased 130 per cent. In 1800 it was estimated at seven hundred millions, in 1914 at a billion six hundred and fifty millions; and today it is estimated at a billion and three quarters. Of this latter number, five hundred and fifty millions are Caucasians, which leaves two colored men for every white man. The

**The World
Population**

**Growth
and
Racial
Composition**

growth of European branches of the white race has gone on at a faster rate. In 1500 these peoples were confined to Europe, and numbered about seventy millions. By 1800 there were one hundred and fifty millions in Europe and ten millions overseas. In 1910 there were four hundred and fifty millions in Europe and one hundred millions overseas. All European nations showed marked increases in population during the nineteenth century.

**Factors in
the In-
crease of
Population**

This growth of population in terms of human experience means an actual increase of births over deaths. Three factors appear to have contributed to the increase. The first was the discovery of the other lands of the earth. These became areas of European colonization, but were more important for the growth of population as the sources of food and raw materials for the European peoples. The second factor was the coming of machinery and the application of science to industry. Man's powers of production increased, and the number of human beings tended to approach the limits of the supply of food. The third factor was the development of medical and sanitary science. The epidemic and the plague have been practically eliminated as factors limiting population. But the greatest advance was in the saving of infants. Under present conditions in America and Scandinavia only one in twenty infants dies in the first year of life, and in New Zealand only one in twenty-six. The lowering of the infant death-rate, however, has produced a new problem. Under harsh pre-modern conditions the weaklings died young; now they live to become the parents of more weaklings. The ultimate effect of this multiplication of the weak may be disastrous to the race.

**The De-
clining
Birth Rate**

A striking aspect of this increase in population has been the decline of the birth-rate. This phenomenon appeared in France about 1850 and has spread to all peoples of the world living under western civilization. The causes of this general decline are deeply rooted in the conditions of modern society. Increased knowledge, higher standards of living, the liberation of women, and the decline of the infant death-rate react upon the birth-rate. At present the greatest factor limiting the growth of population is the conscious control of conception.

**The De-
clining
Death Rate**

A decrease in the number of deaths has accompanied the lowering of the birth-rate. It has been estimated that the number of deaths decreased by 40 per cent in the thirty years preceding the World War, and some writers assert that human life has increased from an average length of 18 or 20 years to between 35 and 37 years during the last century. All in all, these lower birth and death rates mean that children now born are desired by their parents, and that the jungle checks on population have been superseded by checks more under the control of men.

Reference has already been made to the Malthusian law of population, namely, that population tends to increase faster than the food supply, thus making misery, crime, disease, famine, and war the checks on over-population. Malthus lived before modern industry, education, and medical science were operative, when the conditions of life were nearer to those of the jungle than to those of present social organization. Present opinion fails to agree upon a general statement of the law of population.

The Law
of Popula-
tion
Growth

Geographically one-half of the world's population lives in Asia, one-quarter in Europe, and the remainder is scattered in the other continents. The centers of population are in the lowlands of the temperate and sub-tropical areas. China, India, central and western Europe, and north-central and eastern United States contain the bulk of the world's population. In these regions are the great races and nations which carry on the work of civilization. The other races and nations are dependent upon them.

Geographi-
cal Dis-
tribution

Within this body of the world population the American people are distinctive: they have no common origins, no mythology, no traditional enmities, and no period of former glories. The Americans were Europeans and Africans first. The American is a transplanted individual; his roots are in a past which he has repudiated, or from which he has been torn.

The
American
People

Many racial and national elements have entered into the formation of this New World people. Three groups furnished the basic ingredients. The New Englanders were English, of the anti-Catholic and anti-King party during the seventeenth century. The Virginians, too, were English but had been supporters of the crown. The third element was the first typically American population, the mixed peoples of the central colonies which included the Dutch, Swedes, Pennsylvania Germans, some Scotch-Irish, and many English of Quaker and Catholic religious faiths. These first settlers were a mixture of the Nordic and Alpine races. Slaves of the Negroid race served a few of them.

The
Original
Elements

New elements were to intrude before the amalgamation of these diverse peoples into the American people was complete. Late in the eighteenth century large numbers of Scotch-Irish of Ulster and Lower Scotland were driven to America by a British economic policy which hindered their native industries. In the early part of the nineteenth century, especially after the famines of the "forties," the Irish came in great numbers. The Revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in Central Europe sent many Germans to America. They were followed by the Scandinavians; and with their coming the great period of North European immigration closed.

The First
Immi-
grants

Since 1880 the tide of immigration has run from southern Europe. The Italians came first, followed by the Russian Jews,

**The
Second Im-
migration**

Russians, Hungarians, Greeks, and lesser nationalities. In 1905 more than a million came; but the high water mark was reached in 1919, just before restrictive legislation reduced the flow. The older elements of the population are Nordic and Alpine. These newer elements are Mediterranean, but their national characteristics rather than their race features set them off from the established population. In their low economic status and social solidarity exists the genuine problem of their assimilation into the general body of the people. This assimilation, however, will be as certain and as complete as that which has welded the three races into the numerous nationalities of Europe, none of which is a pure racial stock.

**The
Develop-
ment of
National
Unity**

All American history has been a process of creating a national feeling among these diverse European immigrants. The effect of the continent's position, physical features, and virgin resources in the development of this unity has already been noted. Historical events have completed the process. Early troubles with the Indians and the French brought a sense of common danger and a need for common action. Following the defeat of the French in 1763, the English attempted to enforce a commercial policy which to colonial merchants seemed injurious, and the issue headed into the War for Independence which created the first great elements of the American national tradition. The organization of a central government under the Constitution established the constructive portion of the tradition. The expansion of the people westward opened to this nationalism the vision of a great destiny, and nationalism thrived on the promise. The Monroe Doctrine was an expression of this thriving nationalism. Meanwhile, in the great western valleys the original elements of the population and the newer immigrants were mingling; and new states appeared under the authority of the central government. Such developments stimulated the people to think more and more in national terms. The slavery issue, however, brought the assertion of the anti-nationalistic doctrine of states' rights and culminated in the crisis of 1861. The American Civil War should be looked upon as a struggle to maintain national unity. Since then economic unity and participation in world politics have further aroused the self-consciousness of the population, until today nationalism is as much a fact of American life as it is of war-scarred Europe.

**Growth
of Popula-
tion**

Obviously the growth of the American people has taken place by two methods, by birth and by immigration. Certainly it has been phenomenal. In 1640 there was a population of twenty-five thousand; in 1700 there were ten times that number. By 1740 they had become a million, and at the opening of the Revolution about two and one-half million people were living on the Atlantic sea-

board. The first census (1790) revealed a population of 3,929,214. Since then the decennial enumerations have shown a steady increase, totaling 1,331.6 per cent for the nineteenth century. The 1920 census showed a population of 105,710,620, and the present rate of increase is estimated at two million yearly. Births have contributed to this expansion more than has immigration, but as immigration increased the birth-rate declined. It has been argued that the population would have been as great as it is today if restriction had been adopted early in the nineteenth century. At present the newer elements of the South European stocks are increasing more rapidly than those of the older population.

In this population there are 24,351,676 families, with an average of 4.3 persons in each. There are 53,900,431 men and 51,810,189 women, or 104 men to every 100 women. West of the Mississippi there are about three men to every two women; in the East there are more of the latter. The age divisions of the population reveal the following groups:

Present
Composi-
tion
of Popula-
tion

Children under 1 year	2.1%
Children between 1 and 4	8.8%
Children between 5 and 9	10.8%
Children between 10 and 14	10.1%
Youths between 15 and 19	8.9%
Adults between 20 and 44	38.4%
Adults over 45	20.8%

The adult groups represent the working and directing elements of the population, in whose hands rests the present-day welfare of the nation. To the younger groups belong the responsibilities of the future. These generations as they divide into racial groups, and native and foreign born stocks, show that 90 per cent of the people are white, 9 per cent Negro, and 1 per cent Indian and Oriental. About 77 per cent of the population is native white, and 13 per cent foreign white, the remainder being of mixed native and foreign parentage.

It is this new people, already blended and being blended from the races of Europe, that constitutes the American nation. American society in its elements, problems, and progress is made of the life-experiences of this population.

The living millions—Americans, Europeans, Caucasians, Mongoloids, and Negroids—represent man as the culmination of the processes of biological and social evolution.

Among the general forms of life, naturalists designate man, whether he be Chinese or Hottentot, Nordic or whatnot: first, an animal, *i. e.*, he breathes oxygen, consumes organic food, and moves; second, a vertebrate, *i. e.*, he has a backbone; third, a

Man's
Place in
Nature

mammal, *i. e.*, he has warm blood, hair, and a diaphragm; fourth, a placental, *i. e.*, he is born by a mother; and fifth, a primate, *i. e.*, he has neither claws nor hoofs, but nails. The primates are tree-dwellers, whereas man is not. From them he is distinguished by his habitat on the ground, a more erect posture, shorter arms, the oppositive thumb, a smaller and weaker jaw, smaller teeth, a chin, smaller ridges over the eyes, a weaker temporal arch, a greater size of the skull, an increased complexity of brain structure, especially the forebrain; and lastly he is distinguished by articulate speech. This brain development and speech are the bases of man's final designation of himself as "*homo sapiens*," *i. e.*, a "knowing fellow." It is this knowing quality of man which, although he is a part of nature, puts him over nature. Man masters nature by knowing nature.

The Ad-
justment
of Man to
the Physi-
cal En-
vironment

The
Stimuli-
Response
Hypothe-
sis of Ad-
justment

In life's long ascent through the biologic series, the organisms survived only as they were able to maintain an adjusted relationship to the physical environment. The environment is ever present as a set of changing situations, which reach the organism as stimuli; the organism affects the adjustment by responses. For example, if an earthworm, a rat, a dog, an infant, or an unsuspecting adult is pricked with a pin, there will be an immediate movement by the organism touched. The prick of the pin is the "stimulus"; the consequent movement is the "response" or "reaction." The sum total of responses of an organism to the stimuli coming from the physical environment becomes the organism's "behavior." In this behavior the adjustment to the outward conditions of life is maintained. For each organism this adjustment depends, in the first place, upon its integration with the physical environment, *i. e.*, its capacity to be aware of and to distinguish the varying stimulations presented by the physical environment; and in the second place, upon its capacity to meet each stimulus with an effective response. From one point of view, life is merely the interplay of stimuli and reactions; and man's knowing faculty and complex behavior represent only his more highly developed ability to receive stimuli and to make responses to them.

The Ele-
ments of
Man's
"Know-
ing" the
Environ-
ment

Awareness

Sensations

The primitive single cell had only a general awareness of its environment, the waters of the primeval seas. Such stimuli as light, temperature, and contact were undifferentiated in its experiences. Moreover, its responses were made without distinction among them. If the situation was unfavorable, the cell moved away; if the reverse was the case, it moved forward to enjoy the favor. As the organisms evolved, there developed, probably at the level of the insects, a specific awareness of such different stimuli as are now experienced by men. This specific awareness, like the prick of a pin, is called a "sensation." Every particle of

knowledge acquired by man has come, and still comes, first as sensations! In the course of evolution, organisms appeared which could retain the experience of these sensations. If one looks attentively at a glowing light for a few seconds, and then closes his eyes or turns his gaze into a dark corner, the image of the light will be found to remain before the eyes. Such an after-experience is called the "mental image," and as these images are retained and integrated with experiences they become "memory." Accompanying these sensations are states of experience which the organism feels as pleasant or unpleasant. These simple feelings become attached to the images and reside in the memory with them. As the specific sensations with their accompanying feelings are received and retained in memory, the higher organisms achieve an integrated experience of the environment. In this experience the sensations and images combine to make possible an immediate recognition of objects. Such a recognition is called a "percept." From these percepts are built up "ideas." The idea embodies the common elements of similar percepts. Thus one may be aware of an object he calls an Airedale, a Blenheim poodle, or a Boston terrier. Each is different from the other, and yet each is recognized as a "dog." "Dog" is the idea which expresses the relationship among the several percepts. It has no existence in specific sensations, but is shaped in the memory as the interpretation of past sensations and percepts. Ideas represent man's recognition of the general and permanent relationships which exist among the factors of the environment. In ideas are retained the organized experience of the race. All of these experiences, sensations, feelings, images, percepts, and ideas, accumulate by retention into a knowing of the environment and the past adjustments made to it by the individual. This accumulated experience is called "mind." No two individual minds are ever alike because no two individuals ever receive the same set of sensations.

The Mental Image and Memory

Feelings

Percepts

Ideas

Within this mind there are those incoming sensations and those recalled experiences of which the individual is at any instant aware. For the student as he studies this page they may be the light of the room, the sense of these words, or the comments of the teacher. This portion of experience is called "consciousness." It is always changing, varying, re-forming, and it carries the individual's experience forward as if he were floating with a stream. Besides these incoming sensations there is the great body of accumulated experience of which the student is not aware. At this instant he may be engrossed in his study; the fire gong sounds, and with the preceding moment has departed the sense of these words! A new portion of experience has been received and with it there emerges a part of past experience into consciousness.

The Mind, Conscious and Sub-conscious

Where was this experience in the moments of study? It was in what is called the "subconscious mind." There is no fixed division between the conscious and the subconscious portions of the mind; a constant passing of experiences from the one to the other unites them in a common service to the organism. The conscious mind receives the immediate sensations from the environment, and carries on the operations which form percepts and ideas. The subconscious mind is as yet little understood, but it may be thought of as a reservoir in which past experience is retained.³

Man Re-
acts to
Stimuli by
Selected
and Con-
trolled
Responses

Finally in the highest organisms, as they respond to stimuli, there appears the capacity to fit incoming sensations as percepts and ideas into the accumulated experience and to relate the whole in forming the reaction to the environment. This capacity—it is called "intelligence"—undoubtedly exists below man, yet it is his supreme distinction. In him it has reached its highest development. By it he becomes the "knowing fellow." The human being knows the environment only through the capacity of awareness, which is an attribute of all living matter but which in him has become a mind. By means of this mind, as he relates the incoming sensations to the retained ones of the past, he achieves a knowledge of his environment which centers in himself an experience of life and matter in space, time, and society. By this knowledge he is able to adjust his responses to the numerous elements of the environment, and likewise to select a response according to his past success or failure in meeting the same or similar stimulations. He is able to consider the effectiveness of a response before it is made. All men do not acquire the same breadth of experience, nor do they all possess the same capacity to relate past experience to immediate responses; but by their experience and by this capacity all men make the adjustments to the environment upon which their survival depends.

Compara-
tive Ad-
justment
to the En-
vironment

Whereas the primitive cell had only a general awareness of its watery home, modern man at the upper end of the biologic series has a consciousness of his environment and an integration with it in terms of specific sensations, objects, and relationships of both space and time. Whereas the cell met each stimulus with a quite simple and similar response, man selects and controls his responses according to the character of the stimuli. Both are alike, however—the cell in the narrow confines of the motion and temperature

³ The "memory," the "subconscious mind," and the "conscious mind" have no existence in a level of mental reality which is above and apart from the physical organism; more properly understood, these terms symbolize the ways and means by which the organism shapes and unifies the responses called forth by the environmental stimuli into a behavior system.

of the water, man between the stars and the atoms and in the depths of time—in that through the interplay of stimuli and their responses they maintain an adjusted relation to the factors of the environment.

Man's superior integration with the physical environment consists in the refinement and development of the general awareness of the first living substance. The original organism was itself the complete mechanism of adjustment. In irritability, it possessed the capacity to receive stimuli; in adaptability, it found the powers to respond to them. As higher forms of life evolved by multiplication and specialization of the single cell into a many-celled body, a distinct mechanism of adjustment came into existence, *i. e.*, the nervous system.

In the first many-celled organism, each cell retained its sensitivity and adaptability, but those on the exterior having a direct contact with the physical environment tended to develop their sensitivity. In the sponge each cell still responds separately, but specialized sensitive cells do exist about the openings for breathing. By selection, those bodies persisted whose exterior cells best served the organism's needs in the struggle for existence, and the most sensitive cells survived. The next step in the development of the nervous mechanism was the withdrawal of these sensitive cells from the surface of the organism and the formation of two filaments, one to the exterior of the body keeping a contact with the environment, and the other to the muscles and organs which accomplish the adjustment of the organism to the environment. This specialized sensitive cell is the "neurone," the unit of all nerve structures including the brain of man. After the appearance of this neurone, the next stage was its development into the specialized sensory cell to receive stimuli from the environment, and the specialized motor cell to carry the stimuli to the organs of response. The next development was the segregation of neurones into groups having special functions. These are seen as the ganglion structures of lobsters and crabs. During the same development, the sensory cells differentiated into groups sensitive to particular stimuli. All of the special sense organs seem to be present in insects. The union of the motor ganglia into one single structure marked the evolution of the first central nervous system. This is the spinal cord of the lowest organism with a backbone, the *amphioxus*. The first brain structure appeared in the amphibians, frogs and the like, which mark the passage of animal life from water to land. The cortex or highest brain structure appeared in its rudimentary form in the birds. Subsequently evolution, by an ever increasing complexity of nerve cell growth, functional

The
Mechanism
of Ad-
justment

The
Nervous
System

Evolution
of the
Human
Nervous
System

The Sensitive Cell

The Motor
and Sen-
sory
Neurones

Ganglion

Special
Sense
Organs

The Spinal
Cord

The Brain

specialization and coördination, marked the development of the biologic series to the climactic appearance of man with a mechanism which achieves the present adjustment to the environment.

Develop-
ment of
the Hu-
man
Nervous
System

In the
Embryo

Since the human body develops from a single cell, it is evident that the growth of the human nervous system is a part of that development. The first sensitive nerve cells appear on the surface of the embryo. By the process of folding which takes place during the growth before birth, these cells arrive at a central position within the spinal cord and the cranial cavity. At birth the human child is not endowed with fully developed special sense organs or a complete capacity for response to stimuli, and the coördination between the different nerve structures and the highest parts of the nervous system is also unformed. At first the child cannot recognize special objects; at three months, perhaps, it can recognize its mother. Until its fifth year it is concerned essentially with acquiring the different forms of bodily movement which are necessary to its life. Brain growth continues until possibly the thirteenth or fifteenth year, when the limits of structural growth are reached. During this period, however, the growth is paralleled by the emergence one by one of its native impulses to action, and by the acquisition from stimuli of a knowledge of the environment and the kinds of response best suited to them. The percepts and ideas which are the content of higher intellectual life are first acquired during this period. This is the "formative period" when the organism is most adaptable. During its course the individual is given those distinctive forms of behavior which establish him as a member of adult social organization. He begins, for example, to play his part as an American, a Methodist, a Republican, a carpenter, and some of the other lesser parts in social organization. At the end of the period, his nervous structure is complete, and his responses are so fixed that he is a member of a definite social group, with a special function to perform within it. Greater skill in performing this function or higher intellectual achievements in later life rest upon the foundations laid down in this earlier development.

In the
"Forma-
tive
Period"

The
Structure
of the
Human
Nervous
System

Neurones
and
Synapses

The unit of this complete nervous system is the "neurone," a protoplasmic cell having two kinds of hair-like prolongations. The shorter of these filaments are called "dendrites," and they have immediate contacts with the prolongations of other neurones. The other and longer filament is an "axone." These cells form the extended connections of the nervous system, and some of them extend from the spinal cord to the toes. The cell bodies form the gray matter of the nervous system; the prolongations form the white matter. The individual neurone is never united to another cell; it has contact only with the filaments of other neurones.

These contacts are called "synapses." Every stimulation or response consequently involves the passage of the nerve impulse through neurones by a series of synapses. The resistance to the passage of the impulse varies at different connections. This resistance to or ease of passage, as the case may be, undoubtedly works to hinder or to facilitate certain types of responses. Quickness of response, of making percepts, and of shaping ideas may depend upon the ease of establishing connections through the synapses. Furthermore, a series of synapses once established tends to remain, and to become the channel for the further transmission of impulses arising from similar stimulations. This is the physiological basis for developing new forms of response into habitual acts.

Some eleven thousand millions of these neurones, varying greatly in size and shape, form the nervous system of man. They are of three sorts: the sensory, the motor, and the associative. The sensory neurones receive and convey the sensations excited by the stimuli from the environment to the central nervous system. The associative neurones receive them, elaborate them, integrate them with the body of past experience, and also determine the nature of the response. This, in turn, is carried forth to the organs of response by the motor neurones. This entire nerve path is called the "response arc."

The
Response
Arc

The sense organs are the gates by which the stimuli are let into this path. Old physiologies enumerated five senses, but recent studies have shown that there are more, and that particular sensations are usually compounded of many simple sensations. The skin has four sense organs, nerve endings sensitive to pain, pressure, heat, and cold. These nerve endings are not distributed evenly over the body; those of pressure, for example, are most numerous in the fingers. There are six simple sensations experienced through the eye: light, and its absence, and the colors, red, green, blue, and yellow. From these colors and the varying degrees of light are compounded all the sensations of vision. The tongue has four simple sensations: bitter, sour, sweet, and salt. These sensations are closely allied with those of the nose, the simple sensations of which, usually given as nine, are not definitely known. The actual experience called "smell" is believed to be compounded by both organs. By taste alone roast beef is sweet; the particularly pleasing sensation which it gives upon eating is a composite one made by taste and smell. The ear is sensitive to more than eleven thousand different sounds and sound qualities. Besides these commonly recognized sensations, there are others: the kinæsthetic, or sense of motion and strain in the muscles; the static, or sense of equilibrium the organ of which is the semicircular canal structure

The Sense
Organs

in the ear; and the organic senses arising in the chest and abdomen which give the experiences connected with the digestive tract and sex life. Through the sensations which pour in upon an individual the environment is known.

**The
Central
Nervous
System**

As these sensations continue their journey around the response arc, they pass through the central nervous system over one of three general paths. These three paths determine the nature of the action with which the arc ends. The first path leads through the spinal cord, and connects directly the sense organs of the skin and the internal organs with the limbs and trunk. It probably ends with reflex action. The second of the paths leads through the hind- and mid-brains. The connections of this path are much more numerous than those of the former and serve to connect the sense organs of the head with the muscles of the head, the spinal cord and body, and finally with the fore-brain. This arc probably ends with instinctive action. The third path is through the fore-brain. This structure is similar to the other parts of the nervous system except that it is much larger, containing more than one-half of the neurones. It has three general areas, one receiving the sensations, another elaborating them or fitting them into the experience, and finally the associative area in which the conscious processes of relating, selecting, and adapting them to response take place. This structure is thought to be the seat of consciousness. By its processes, the sensations coming from the sense organs are so guided and controlled as to issue in the responses which distinguish intelligent human behavior.

**The
Autonomic
Nervous
System**

Besides these dominating structures of the central nervous system there is a series of ganglia running parallel to the spinal cord, four ganglia on each side of the hind-brain and several others scattered through the internal organs, the heart, liver, stomach, intestines, and lungs. This is called the "autonomic" nervous system. Although it is under the control of the higher nerve structures, it operates in an automatic way to adjust the internal organs and the bodily processes to the response of the whole organism. Such responses as the dilation of the pupil of the eye and the acceleration of the heart action are under its immediate control.

**Termina-
tion of the
Response
Arc**

**Muscles
Glands**

The chief terminations of the response arc are in the muscles and glands of the body. The muscles affect the movements of the organism. The glands regulate the digestive process, the elimination of waste products, growth, and, indeed, all of the physiological processes of life. It is by these motions and processes under the control of the central nervous system that the organism makes its responses to stimuli. Only a part of the organism may be involved

in the response to a particular stimulus, but the nervous system is so organized that a stimulus to any part of the body may bring a response in any other part, or arouse the whole organism. In fact it is the organism as a composite of sense organs, central nervous system, muscles, bones, and glands, which achieves the final and continuing adjustment to the environment.

Organs

Indeed, the entire organism—body and mind—is a unity, and the development of its bodily and mental processes was parallel to the evolution of organs and structures. Although the transition from the lower animals to man has not been finally proved, it seems apparent that man is the end-product of a biologic series which had its beginning in the primitive cell. If this biologic continuity is accepted, it follows that man, at the instant of birth, has no other equipment for life than that which was organized from or developed from the fundamental characteristics of living matter. Man's original equipment for life, or as it is better called, his "original nature," is best seen, therefore, as the elaborated characteristics of the single cell. In man the processes of growth, repair, and reproduction have become differentiated into the specialized activities for getting food, for finding shelter, for securing protection, and for reproducing by the sexual method, while the irritability and adaptability of the cell have been organized into the capacities which make possible the recognition by man of his own individuality, of others like himself, and of the factors in his environment. Original nature appears to be a biological endowment, shaped by the evolutionary process and designed to function as the organism meets the conditions of its environment. According to this view, original nature does not exist as a special endowment planted in man but is an achievement of the biological evolution of life, and consists of those needs for activities, tendencies to activities, and capacities for activities which are possessed by the babe at the instant of birth, together with such other needs, tendencies, and capacities as may be developed entirely as a result of the growth of the organism to maturity. Original nature is man's "uneducated mind."

**Man's
Original
Nature**

**The Ori-
gin of
Man's
Original
Equip-
ment for
Life**

Present opinion holds that this original nature belongs to each individual at birth, and is carried from parent to offspring by heredity. In addition, present opinion believes that the elements of this original nature have remained constant since man assumed his present biological organization, that it has served and still serves the most primitive men as well as the most highly civilized men, and that it is undergoing no changes at the present time. Indeed, the savage and the civilized man, the sinner and the saint, the aristocrat and the laborer, appear to live by the same basic equip-

**The Per-
manence
of Ori-
ginal Na-
ture**

ment. Original nature, according to present theory, is held to be one permanent and constant factor in the life of the individual and of the species.

General
Concepts
of Original
Nature

Manifestly, if original nature is such a fundamental and constant factor in human existence, an understanding of its elements and their influences is a prime necessity in the study of individual and social life. Unfortunately, however, no concept in modern thought is more indefinite or more subject to controversy. In addition to the biological view of original nature which was set forth in the last paragraphs, there are no less than four other views. The first of these is the popular idea of "human nature"—held alike by philosophers and wits, by scientists and gossips—which explains any and all factors or situations in human affairs. "It is against human nature" or "it is human nature" have long been blanket explanations for anything which prejudice or ignorance might as-

The Popular
Notion
"Man is
Born
Wicked"

sert. Beside this popular concept of original nature must be placed two others: the older one of these is mighty with prestige—it is that "man is born inherently wicked," that "original sin" is a curse upon him; and the second and newer one is that "man is born inherently good," that "a sentiment of justice" resides in his heart.

"Man is
Born
Good"

Obviously nothing can be done to harmonize these contradictory views; they, together with the more general concept (and the much more convenient concept because it permits the explanation of anything in human life, good and bad alike), must be laid aside as being worse than useless in any critical study of society. In addition to these three views there is the concept of original nature as the "*elan vital*," the "life-force," which drives the individual and the race on in their developments. This philosophical view arises from the interpretation of existence in terms of forces, an interpretation which developed as a result of the modern advances in knowledge of the physical universe. About all that can be said for this concept is that it accounts for human activity, but in no way sheds light on the elements, tendencies, organization, and capacities of the activity. The biological view of original nature already set forth is a much more serviceable concept, first, in that it accounts for original nature as the elaborated forms of the characteristics of living matter, and does not, therefore, necessitate the postulation of a special and unique endowment for man; and in the second place, because it provides a starting-point for the analysis of the elements in original nature as tendencies toward certain definite types of action. Original nature must not be conceived in terms of morals, programs of social reform, or systems of philosophy; it must be studied in the functioning of the human organism and analyzed in the reactions which stimuli call forth. Original nature

is not a curse, nor a blessing, nor a mechanical force; rather it is a capacity and a tendency to function which exists as the organism is subjected to stimuli.

So much is so good; but here trouble begins anew, for the biologists, the psychologists, and the sociologists are not agreed as to either the forms or the influence of these tendencies to function which are born with each infant. A glance at the names which have been given to the elements in original nature indicates the indefinite state of knowledge and lack of settled opinion among these students. "Reflexes," "instincts," "drives," "traits," "impulses," "fundamental wishes," "prepotent habits," "random movements," "instinctive emotional dispositions," and "foundation behavior" rise like a fog to obscure the idea of original nature. Some light may be found, however, in the discovery that, in spite of this fog, two views of the elements in and influences of original nature can be distinguished. On the one hand, are those students who believe that there is a very complete and large body of definite types of reactions which are determined by the organization of the nervous system. In this view man is seen as being endowed with an original equipment which patterns his behavior, limits his achievements, and accounts for his vices and follies. This view, because it asserts that original nature is the all-important factor in human life, may be called "biological determinism." On the other hand, and opposed to the biological determinists, are students who, although they accept the existence of an original nature, look upon its elements as being indefinite, unformed, plastic, and without supreme importance in establishing the course of either individual or social life. These students, who may be called the "environmentalists," assert that the fundamental aspects of human behavior are not determined by original nature, but are shaped from indeterminate impulses as the organism is brought in contact with the environment—in other words, that original nature, instead of being essentially a motivating factor in human life, is an adaptive factor, which makes possible the development of reactions suitable to environmental situations. The biological determinists see human behavior as a quite permanent pattern, the figures of which are woven about inborn traits; their adversaries see human behavior as a changing design, infinitely variable, especially as environmental influences are brought to bear upon the individual during the formative period.

In the face of such confusion and disagreement, what conclusions as to the elements in and the influences of original nature can be drawn? A survey of the data and opinions as to the composition of original nature reveals that there are four elements—reflexes,

Disagree-
ment as to
the Ele-
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and Influ-
ence of
Original
Nature

The Bio-
logical
Deter-
minists

The En-
viron-
mental-
ists

The Elements in Original Nature

instincts, emotions, and intelligence—which, organized together and functioning together in various degrees under the stimuli from the environment, form the hereditary basis of human behavior.

Reflexes

Of these elements the reflexes, *i. e.*, simple and swift reactions to specific stimuli, are the most rudimentary. The capacities for such simple responses appear to serve the most immediate needs of the organism in meeting the environmental conditions of life, and take form in such acts as grasping, starting, coughing, struggling, and the like.

Instincts

The second element in the formation of original nature is ordinarily called "instinct." This term, however, has many meanings; for example, it is applied to the fixed "pattern-reactions" which appear in the behavior of insects, birds, and mammals, as well as to human responses; and in this latter application it has been used as equivalent to "pattern-reactions," "unlearned knowledge," "pre-formed neural paths," "drives," and "traits." Perhaps the best way to discover the meaning of the term as presently applied to human nature, is to contrast the instinct and the reflex: the latter is a simple and specific reaction; the former is a complex reaction, and consists of a series of responses which work in some definite direction of adjustment of the organism to the environment. Present opinion looks upon the human instincts as a more or less indefinite body of impulses, any one of which may move the individual in a variety of directions instead of producing automatically a specific action, and which emerge in human behavior as a part of, and at different stages of, the organism's development. It appears that there are no specific instincts which determine and pattern human behavior, but that there numerous innate tendencies which may be called forth when environmental stimulation is afforded, and so shaped into fundamental types of behavior.

The Classification of the Instincts

But the problem of defining instincts is no greater than the problem of classifying them. Many classifications of these innate tendencies have been drawn up, and among them there is little agreement as to either number or types. An attempt to arbitrate between these lists would probably have about the same sad result as occurs when an obliging friend interferes in a quarrel between husband and wife, that is, a general melee in which the arbitrator would be worsted by all participants. The purpose of such statements as are made here is only to suggest that in spite of the disagreement among the authorities there appears to be a general basic pattern in human behavior. One arrives at this conclusion after a scrutiny of the classifications drawn up from various points of view. For present purposes the design of this basic pattern may be indicated by placing in parallel columns two classifications of

the fundamental types of human responses, and noting their similarities. Following are the two lists—the first drawn up by an authority who argues for the instincts,⁴ and the second by an authority who repudiates all instincts and writes of “basic behavior equipment”:⁵

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. The parental or protective instinct | 1. Adaptive responses |
| 2. The instinct of combat | 2. Compensatory responses |
| 3. The instinct of curiosity | 3. Protective responses |
| 4. The instinct of food-getting | 4. Defensive responses |
| 5. The instinct of repulsion | 5. Manipulative responses |
| 6. The instinct of escape | 6. Expressive responses |
| 7. The gregarious instinct | 7. Exhibitive responses |
| 8. The instinct of self-assertion | 8. Approbative responses |
| 9. The instinct of submission | 9. Recessive responses |
| 10. The mating instinct | 10. Accommodative responses |
| 11. The acquisitive instinct | 11. Acquisitive responses |
| 12. The constructive instinct | |
| 13. The instinct of appeal | |
| 14. The instinct of laughter | |

It is readily seen that these lists outline the same general design for human activity. Since life is maintained and individuality is developed only by the continuous adjustment which the organism establishes to its environment, it would appear that the types of response which are indicated in these lists are those which establish the adjustment, and therefore represent the fundamental activities which the organism is capable of performing under the stimulation of the environment. One must conclude, therefore, that the organism has the innate capacities to place itself in these relations to the factors of the environment. As another authority puts it, “Individuality seems in some way to depend upon man’s original tendencies, not upon the presence of completed pattern type of instincts, since these do not exist in any large numbers, but apparently upon factors which, when taken singly, are difficult to detect, but which, when taken together, are the most important.”⁶ There do exist as part of man’s original nature various inborn tendencies which make possible certain types of response, and provide starting-points for the organization of complex reactions of such general types as are necessary for the development of the individual and the survival of the species. Hereafter in this book the term “instinct” shall be used in this sense.

In concluding this exposition of the nature and rôle of the instincts, it is necessary to point out that once any one of these

⁴ William McDougall, *Outline of Psychology*, Chap. V, p. 121 ff.

⁵ J. R. Kantor, *Principles of Psychology*, p. 173 ff.

⁶ John B. Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, p. 267.

primitive impulses becomes organized into a general type of response, the power of the impulse seems to be increased, and it exercises, as a result, a greater influence in conduct than do the unorganized impulses. In this way the elaboration of such primitive impulses as are called out by the earliest contacts with the environment and in society become factors limiting the development of newer forms of response. By and large, the instincts provide only the beginnings of a crude adjustment of the organism to the environment.

Emotions

The third element in original nature, the emotions, which seem to be more definite than the instincts, are inherent bodily states which are aroused under the proper conditions of stimulation. Fear, rage, and love are distinct emotions; such other bodily states as may be aroused, are believed to be combinations of these emotions and instinctive tendencies. Ordinarily the emotions are recognizable in facial expressions. In rage there is the heavy scowl and the reddened face, and one feels as if the "blood boils"; in fear one is "as white as a sheet" or is "scared stiff"; in love, one feels an "ardent" or "burning" passion; and when one is depressed he feels "blue." Of course there are the "poker-face," the person who shows little emotion, and his opposite, the "flighty one" who is quite easily stirred. In this connection it is pertinent to note that the quality of an individual's emotional reactions plays a great part in his behavior. Excessive emotionality makes a person moody, changeable, and irresponsible, while low emotionality, which deprives the persons so afflicted of the feelings upon which sound regard for others is based, is thought to be a cause of crime. All in all, since the emotions are preparations for actions (one angers before he fights), they exert a great influence over responses, so great, indeed, that in times of emergency, when the emotional excitement is high, great feats of strength, endurance, and courage are often performed. The emotions give the qualities of stress, pleasure, pain, and lassitude to activity, and are powerful factors in human behavior during all great crises of life.

Intelligence

The fourth and final element in original nature is that capacity which has already been noted as "intelligence." Since the newborn babe is not equipped at birth with the forms of behavior by which its adult life will be carried on, these ways and means of action must be learned as the individual develops under the environmental conditions and among the social contacts which encompass his life. From this point of view intelligence may be defined as the "capacity to learn." The simplest form of learning involves the organization of the instinctive tendencies into fundamental forms of activity, such as learning to walk and to talk, but higher forms of learning involve much more complicated processes. The most common of

"The Capacity to Learn"

these is by "trial and error;" in other words, there is a fumbling with the environmental situation until a satisfying response is found, but once this is discovered it is soon made permanent in conduct by repetition. Many animals show the capacity to learn by this method, and it is especially important to the child. Intelligence, however, attains its full development only in the adult human, and its true nature is to be discovered from an analysis of his behavior. In this mature form intelligence appears to be the capacity to organize responses in such a way as to achieve some specific result, a result which is foreseen by the individual as the environmental situation unfolds. Furthermore, it appears that this capacity makes possible a rapid and variable response, which demands in the individual a calm measuring of the environmental factors in relation to his capacity to react and an alertness in utilizing every opportunity for successful response that may present itself. In doing all of these things, the individual seems to employ three necessary processes: the first of these is "attention," which makes possible the holding of the organism to a response to one definite class of stimuli, the second is "association," which carries on a consideration of the responses which may be desired in relation to prior responses; and the third is "judgment," which achieves a sorting of the responses in relation to the stimuli, and modifies the prior responses in a way which will serve better to maintain the desired adjustment.

Finally, mature intelligence appears to work more with the symbols (percepts and ideas) of stimuli and responses than with the immediate stimuli and responses themselves. It thus becomes the capacity which enables man to construct his organized concept of existence, to formulate his theories of conduct, and to undertake his projects for improving life. In this highest form intelligence is often known as "reasoning," and as such it exhibits several phases: the attentive consideration of every element of a situation, the conducting of a systematic inquiry into those elements, the offsetting of opposing conclusions against one another, and the weighing of all evidence which may be brought to the support of the conclusions—all with a persisting doubt until a final judgment, as to the best possible response to the situation, can be made. In reasoning every fact which the mind knows, every relation among these facts, and every possible combination of responses based upon these relations, are passed in review before the response is made. Reason, operating along the lines of instinctive tendencies, and under the play of the emotions, is man's most serviceable instrument in determining behavior.

Reason-
ing

It is by these higher mental processes—call them what we may, "the capacity to learn," "thinking," "reflection," "reasoning,"

or "intelligence"—that man has won his mastery over physical nature. The nimble-witted ancestor of man survived only as he acquired new adjustments to his environment. By his capacity to devise the responses which circumstance demanded he shaped his conduct into a settled life, and was able to pass his achievements on to posterity. Modern men live chiefly by acquired forms of response; but they acquire the responses because they possess the inherited "capacity to learn"—"intelligence."

**Summary
View of
the Ele-
ments in
Original
Nature**

The parting view of original nature must show it to be the native equipment of an organism which lives only and always under environmental conditions, and such elements as may be found to be the inherited bases of action must, therefore, function in relation to this environment. Moreover, in this functioning are developed the pattern of and the limitations on human behavior. With needs to call for satisfactions, with energies to serve the needs, with instinctive tendencies to direct the energies in the service of the needs, with emotions to strengthen the actions impelled by the instincts, and with intelligence to shape the needs, energies, instincts, and emotions into a train of conduct conducive to the general interests of the individual and the species, man is equipped for life—these are his "original nature."

**The Vari-
ability of
Original
Endow-
ments
Among
Men**

When one turns from a consideration of the elements which compose original nature to inquire into its influence in human life, the first fact that strikes one is the infinite variations which exist among men. "All men are created equal" is a traditional element in American thought, but if the statement means that men are equally endowed at birth with the constituents of original nature, there is no truth in it. Variation among individuals is one of nature's fundamental facts, and it is as true of the inherited equipments of individual men as it is of the leaves of the trees in the forest. Of course, the variety which marks adult men is not caused entirely by differences in their heredity, but the bases of the variety exist in their native traits. All men, as organisms, have similar needs, but not in the same degrees; nor do they have the same strength to seek the desirable satisfactions: there are the "weak" and the "strong." All, too, are capable of similar emotions, but there are the "stolid" and the "flighty." Neither are the instinctive impulses of a common grade in all men: there is the "miser," who has made acquisition his supreme interest, and his opposite, the "spendthrift," who acquires only to spend again. In a like manner, one may see the "rake" and his foil, the "ascetic." Men differ, also, in the qualities of their intelligence: there are geniuses—such as Shakespeare, Goethe, and Tolstoi; there are the un-

**Kinds of
Vari-
ations**

remembered dullards and average men. Aristotle was probably the first man to make a list of such differences, but only in recent years has a scientific study of them been attempted. From these studies it has become clear that men vary not only in their general levels of intelligence, but also in their more specific capacities, such as sensitiveness to color and sound and rhythm, their rates of learning and forgetting, attentiveness to stimuli, and speeds of reaction. In fact, there are variations among men in every need, capacity, tendency, and strength which are inherited as original nature.

This basic unlikeness among men is established by their heredity. In the union of the germ cells into the single cell from which the organism develops are brought together the determinants of the original nature of the offspring. Variation in these determinants is just as much a fact as is any other form of variation. Furthermore, not only are differences inherited from the parents, but traits from earlier ancestry may contribute to the original nature of the offspring. Thus each newborn babe receives a complex and composite body of the traits which are carried in the germ plasms of its parents. Since traits from ancestry earlier than the immediate parents may appear in the child, families from generation to generation may have decidedly inferior or superior members. Thus there are strains of good and bad heredity. There appear, also, to be specific variations, as between the sexes: for example, it is thought that the range of variation is greater in the males than in the females. Likewise it is probable that some inherited differences are due to race qualities. However, it is most certainly false that all of one sex, or all of one race, or any excessive portion of a sex or a race, are superior to the other sex or races. The facts as to the distribution of the inherited differences between the sexes, and especially among the races, remain as yet uncertain. On the other hand, "alike as two peas in a pod," even when applied to blood relatives, is superficial knowledge.

With these facts as to the variations in the inherited equipments of men, it becomes pertinent to inquire into the range of the differences, which can be discovered only by comparing the behaviors of men. Reference already has been made to the genius, the person of exceptional endowment, whose intelligence is superior and whose achievements are therefore greater; but often these superior minds show diseases and elements of insanity. The fact is, men grade from the geniuses through the high average, the average, the dullards, the stupid, to the feeble-minded, who are classified as morons, imbeciles, and idiots. Statistical studies indicate that the percentage of individuals in each group is about as follows:

**Causes of
Variations**

**Range of
Variations**

"Near" genius or genius	.25
Very superior	6.75
Superior	13.00
Normal, or average	60.00
Dull, rarely feeble-minded	13.00
Border line, sometimes dull, often feeble-minded	6.00
Feeble-minded	1.00

Of the feeble-minded group about three-quarters are "morons," or those with a mental development of a twelve-year-old child. Under ordinary circumstances these cannot be distinguished from persons of higher intelligence, but since they lack the capacity to make suitable reactions to new situations they are a dangerous element in the population. Not all of this range of variation is due to heredity, but certainly heredity is the chief factor in its maintenance: from generation to generation the Lowell and Adams families showed superior members, and at the lower sweep of the range ran the members of the Jukes and Kallikak families. If the "raw materials of behavior" are of a low grade, little can be expected; but if they are good in quality, although they may be wasted, they offer the prospect of achievement.

Original
Nature as
a Factor
in Shap-
ing Hu-
man Life

With this view of the elements in original nature, and the variability of its elements in individuals, it is desirable to return to the second phase of the controversy over original nature, namely, its influence in shaping human life. And the first point in this connection seems to be the general agreement which asserts that original nature does provide the "raw materials" of behavior.

The "Raw
Material"
of Be-
havior

One may say that original nature provides the starting-points for man's achievements, his society, and his civilization. But with these starting-points, it does not determine either the specific achievements, or the changing society, or the diversified civilization. The inborn tendencies cannot be made to account for any specific forms of human behavior. On the other hand, no specific act of behavior can be practiced continuously unless it serves the fundamental needs of the organism. From this point of view original nature appears, not as a pattern for human life, but as a limitation within which numerous and different patterns may be organized. It may also be admitted that vague lines mark these patterns, lines which correspond with the basic needs of human life. As such lines one should see the great social institutions, which as types remain but which as forms change. Original nature is neither "shifting sands" nor "solid rock," but rather it is a "concrete mixture," which can be poured into various and different molds.

To carry on this figure, the "mixture" may be "rich" or "poor" with the result that the completed structure will exhibit its quality. Thus the final influence of original nature in human life is made plain. The variability among men accounts in the long run for the permanent existence of the great, the average, and the lowly. About and upon these qualitative divisions in a population men weave their social fabric. But a social division, once made, is not established forever. Aristocracy has always decayed, and then reappeared, organized from new elements risen from the social depths. Democracy, in its relation to original nature, means the removal of every condition which may thwart the ascent of the well endowed. Great men rise from the masses, but their sons usually fall back into oblivion. New generations bring new individuals differently endowed: socially, the positions of prestige and power remain; individually, they may be filled by upstarts, worthy only because of their superior native abilities. As it is expressed in the popular phrase, "You can't keep a good man down."

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that original nature is the basic equipment of man for life, and as such provides the needs, energies, impulses, and capacities which must secure, under the environmental conditions, a sustaining adjustment for the organism. The organization of this adjustment, however, it leaves to the experience of the organism with the environment—and this is the opportunity for the development of civilization. From this point of view original nature is both a dynamic and a limiting factor in human life: dynamic, because it sets man at the task of living; limiting, because it holds life within bounds of satisfactions and achievements. Only as human energy, impulses, and intelligence—the organism functioning as a unit under the conditions of the environment—are coördinated in making the adjustment to the environment, are the needs of life satisfied and life itself maintained. Original nature sets the first needs and exacts the final satisfactions.

If such are the influences of original nature in shaping human life, the most important inquiry which can be undertaken in a review of its influences in American life is one bearing upon the qualitative division of the American people. There are two theories as to the original quality of the American people: the one declares that only the highly endowed came—the daring, the strong, and the intelligent, those who risked life for a new opportunity in an untamed environment; while the other sees the colonists as the socially unfit, the outcasts and failures of the established order of European life. As the seventeenth century versifier put it,

**The Qual-
ity of the
American
Popula-
tion**

“All zealous bankrupts, puncks devout,
Preachers suspended, rabble rout,
Let them sell all, and out of hand
Prepare to go to New England.”

The truth is that the original elements of the American people were a mixture of good and bad, with a general quality similar to that of the European population. And the same may be said for the more recent immigrants. The quality of the American people probably has not deteriorated under the influence of immigration. Not biological heredity, but national differences in customs, ideals, and standards, make the recent immigrant a problem in American life.

**General
Qualita-
tive Ele-
ments**

The general qualitative divisions of a population have already been indicated. These figures were taken from studies made as to the relative brightness of American school children and appear to reflect the qualitative divisions of the American people. There is the average-intelligence group which includes about 60 per cent, the superior group which has about 20 per cent, and the inferior elements which amount to about another 20 per cent.

**The Infe-
rior
Groups**

The individuals of the subnormal and inferior elements lack the inherited equipment for modern social life, and they constitute a burden upon society. Chief among them are the feeble-minded, the insane, epileptics, deaf, blind, and deformed. These groups form the first recruits of the army of the poor, the first inmates of criminal institutions, and they constitute, as they are allowed to multiply, a danger to the whole social body; for by heredity their limitations may be passed on. Modern social conditions which protect these inferior elements of a population, and at the same time allow their mating, work for the lowering of the quality of a population. The great problem of population in the modern world is the elimination of this group of the biologically unfit.

**An Un-
critical
View of
the Infe-
rior Ele-
ments**

It is often asked, “Who are the superior persons in American life?” and in recent years, since “intelligence testing” has become both a science and a sport, much opinion has been created on this question. The most used evidence comes from the *Army Tests* which were applied to recruits called under the draft during the World War. Uncritical analysts have used this evidence to assert an unqualified inferiority of the newer immigrants and negroes. The truth seems to be that present intelligence tests, including the *Army Tests*, do not actually measure the quality of the inborn capacities, but exhibit the opportunities that individuals and groups have had for education and socialization. The evidence existing at present does not warrant the conclusion that any particular race or national ingredient of the American population has a marked advantage in inherited endowments.

Nevertheless, the superior elements of the population constitute its chief creative agents. They do the work of advancing civilization. The essential problem connected with this group is that of establishing such social conditions as will allow the fullest development of their endowments. Special ability may appear even among the economically and socially depressed; in fact, it is quite as likely to exist there as among the more well-to-do. The society which does not give ability, wherever it may exist, ample opportunity to develop, is failing to take advantage of its best instrument for progress. A society which denies the individual freedom of opportunity, either by political mastery, or by economic privilege, or by educational inflexibility, is in the long run doomed to disaster. It is to the superior elements in the American population that the leadership of the nation belongs. Social castes, race prejudices, and national antipathies must make way for the highly-endowed individual.

Just as the inferior are a danger and the superior are an asset to a population, so also the average are the stable and dependable elements. And the great bulk of every population will always remain in this classification. Theirs are the ordinary tasks of life, the common successes and failures. But above all it is their hereditary endowments which pass from generation to generation. They carry the stream both of inferiority and of superiority. Wise social policy must seek the elimination of the former and the multiplication of the latter; but this desirable multiplication is more certainly to be the result of reorganizing social life so as to permit the high variable to emerge from the average than the result of the mating of the markedly superior. It appears that the superior strains tend to become sterile.

Even though this sterility has been much deprecated, it seems that it is part of nature's wisdom. Throughout the long process of evolution the unfit have perished. But the unfit, are they not both the weak and the overweening strong? By the death of each nature has preserved a unity in the species. Man is common in origin; he must be common in destiny. If the "knowing fellow" is to become a "superman," it will be only by the unified advance of the race, not by the special breeding of the elect.

The Superior Elements

The Unity of Humanity in Persons of Average Endowments

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CHAPTER V

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: THE FAMILY

Since the passing of the Ice Age, while the life of man has risen from savagery to present civilization, there have been few changes in the physical environment, and it seems there has been little or no change in man's original nature. The savage is born to his rude and simple ways; modern man is born to a complex existence. Neither creates such conditions for himself. Each receives his ways and means of living from the adults who represent the life into which he is born. This all-inclusive body of ways and means of living which each individual receives from those who live about him is called the "social heritage." "Most anthropologists agree that the major difference between present man and primitive man—not man of the early Ice Age, but primitive man of late prehistoric times—lies less in physical differences and mental capacities, than in the possession by present man of methods and technique based on a scientific knowledge not possessed by primitive man; that the difference is chiefly one of social inheritance, and modern man has gained over primitive man in this regard with an ever increasing acceleration."¹

From the viewpoint of a people who practice them, these ways and means of living are called "culture" or "civilization." For each individual they are an inheritance left him by the group. To the "physical environment" and "original nature" must be added the "social heritage" as a third factor determining the life of man. The "social heritage" exists in the activity of living human beings, and seems to be a part of the "environment." It should be distinguished from the "physical environment"; sometimes it is called the "social environment." At birth a child begins to acquire the practices of this social heritage; it is the soil in which the original nature roots and develops. As he grows older he takes on, knowingly or unknowingly, the types of action and the forms of belief which are embedded in the heritage of his group. His adult personality is largely determined by these socially inherited ways and means of living.

¹ Vernon Kellogg, "The Biologist Speaks of Death," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 127, p. 778.

The
Social
Heritage

Its
Influence
on Life of
Man

The Content of
the Social
Heritage

The content of the social heritage is multiform and complex. Its intimate relation to the behavior of the individual prevents him from appreciating its existence, and above all prevents him from recognizing its social creation. He is too close to the ways and means of his living, that is, they seem too permanent a part of his life, for him to comprehend the nature of their origin and continued existence.

The
General
Pattern

The following analysis ² made by Clark Wissler reveals the general forms of behavior or means to action as composing the culture of a people:

1. Speech.
 - a. Language, writing systems, etc.
2. Material Traits.
 - a. Food habits.
 - b. Shelter.
 - c. Transportation and travel.
 - d. Dress.
 - e. Utensils, tools, etc.
 - f. Weapons.
 - g. Occupations and industries.
3. Art. Carving, painting, drawing, music, etc.
4. Mythology and Scientific Knowledge.
5. Religious Practices.
 - a. Ritualistic forms.
 - b. Treatment of sick.
 - c. Treatment of the dead.
6. Family and Social Systems.
 - a. The forms of marriage.
 - b. Methods of reckoning relationships.
 - c. Inheritance.
 - d. Social control.
 - e. Sports and games.
7. Property.
 - a. Real and personal.
 - b. Standards of value and exchange.
 - c. Trade.
8. Government.
 - a. Political forms.
 - b. Judicial and legal procedures.
9. War.

One should not understand that the elements of culture given in this outline represent all of the forms that culture may ultimately develop. The cultural pattern is not a fixed scheme, and as men come more and more to realize their abilities and sentiments entirely new forms may be created. And if this is true, old forms

² C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 74.

may disappear. Culture is, therefore, a developing and dynamic factor in human life. Present culture is the product of the past, but the culture of the future will be in part a creation of the present.

Further analysis of the general content of culture reveals a twofold division, material and immaterial. The first includes all of those implements and objects which take form in matter: houses and churches, buildings of all kinds; knives and forks, utensils of every description; plows and gimlets, tools of every sort; cloaks and shoes, clothing in any form; clubs and machine guns, weapons in a complete array; steel mills and wrist watches, machinery in endless variety; domesticated plants and animals, food stuffs; and books, pictures, objects of art, religious symbols—all of these are the "material culture." The second division comprises immaterial things: types of behavior and kinds of knowledge. The customs, habits, morals, usages, and the folkways of ordinary social intercourse; and religious faiths, political ideas, philosophical doctrines, scientific knowledge, traditional glories, heroic examples, stories, dreams, visions, aspirations, ideals, prejudices, and hates—all of these are the "immaterial culture." By its objective existence material culture passes through the generations. Death does not destroy buildings, wear out tools, or consume food. Immaterial culture passes on by the young acquiring from the old the knowledge of its existence and the habits of its use. Mother's knee, father's occupation, the school bench, the playground, the pulpit, face-to-face contacts with others, together with the printed page, serve to pass the usages of social intercourse from generation to generation. Thus this body of ways and means of living endures to serve each new generation.

In this service culture enables men to control the physical environment, and to control themselves, *i. e.*, their original natures. With tools, machinery, processes, and knowledge men may provide shelter, secure food, clothe their bodies, and decorate their persons. With the customs, usages, ideas, and practices of life they may set the untrained instincts and capacities into a definite type of behavior. A man's food and manner of eating, his clothing and fashion of dress, are determined merely by his accepting the forms which surround him. He may seek and take his wife only in accordance with a usual procedure. His worship should conform to established rituals. He may acquire and use property only in certain ways. He may punish or secure the punishment of wrongs done him by following common rules. He must act toward his parents, his children, his superiors, and his inferiors in accord with customary practices. *Emily Post* is a vital part of American culture. The primal impulses and instincts of an

"Material"
and "Im-
material"
Cultures

The Serv-
ice of
Culture to
Man

individual are molded into a usual and customary form of expression. The social heritage determines the "responses" which "original nature" may be allowed to make; through culture society molds the life of the individual.

**Growth of
Culture by
Inventive-
ness and
Curiosity**

Once an item has become a part of the social heritage, it tends to persist, and as new items are added from time to time, there is a cumulative growth. By such accumulation, the ways and means of savage life have been changed to those of present civilized life. The life of one period or group is different from that of another period or group largely because the social heritage of each is different. Social change is produced as the content of the social heritage is altered. Thus one force working for social change is that force which brings new elements into the social heritage. In man's original nature there are traits which enable him to make such additions. In the instinct "to fool," "to monkey," "to tinker" with things, men are endowed with the capacity which leads to inventions. The first use of fire was probably accidental; the invention of writing, although not the product of one man's mind, could hardly have been other than reasoned. And these, perhaps, are the two most important inventions in the entire body of the social heritage. By invention men fashioned the first rude implements for the control of nature. By the same process they make the latest. In another instinct, "to be curious," "to inquire," "to poke one's nose into," men possess a drive to find out the unknown. Again, some discoveries are accidental, while others are reasoned. It was probably by accident that men came to the practice of cooking their food, but it could hardly have been anything but reason that formulated the idea of "time," the most important, perhaps, of all concepts. From the earliest ages this curiosity has set men hankering for a knowledge of the unknown. Where primitive men dared to try new articles for food and to wander into strange parts, modern men have pursued the quest to the stars and the atoms, to the living cell, and to the nature of life itself. Such instincts are behind every single item of the social heritage.

**Importance of
the Individual
in the
Growth of
Culture**

The present ways and means of living are, therefore, only the accumulated bits of dead men's minds. The social heritage is truly social; many men have participated in its creation, the "tinkerers" and the "curious" among those countless humans who have gone before. "And so, little by little, age by age, society which has created man, is by man transformed. Of extreme importance in this work is the influence of those few transcendent minds whose genius pierces the unknown; of those pioneers of thought and conduct who dare to stand alone in untrodden ways; of those devoted lovers of their kind who often in obloquy and

pain, reveal the possibility of spiritual life.”³ “Whether the change is in a mechanical device, or a detail of social organization; in a new scientific idea or ethical value; in a method of simplifying or improving economic production or distribution; in a new play, or a novel form of stage art; in an article of use, comfort or luxury, a new word, a witticism, a proverb—all of these things originate in individual minds and there is no other place where they can originate.”⁴ Men of the ages have made the present; living individuals may work changes for the future only by the methods which have made the present, invention and discovery. In any case the individual, the unit of society, is the instrument of social transformation.

World culture may grow only by invention and discovery, but a local culture, *i. e.*, one confined to an area or a people, may grow by borrowing inventions and ideas from other peoples. This process of “diffusion,” as it is called, spreads inventions and ideas beyond the region of their origin, to become a part of the culture of other districts and peoples. In the past “diffusion” has been very important in building the special civilizations. The Greeks, for example, borrowed from the Egyptians and other peoples of the East, and in turn gave to Rome and the modern world. In recent centuries European culture has been diffused throughout the world, but if machinery, Christianity, scientific knowledge, and advantages of lesser importance have been given, Europe has received much in return—oriental philosophy, South Sea romances, the potato, tobacco, and rubber, among other things. Mah Jong comes to America in a like manner. Today the local cultures of the world are in a ferment, and by borrowings, one from another, a common body of world culture is being formed.

Growth of
Culture by
Diffusion

In the accumulation of the social heritage the material and immaterial cultures do not grow at the same rates. Both at first tend to grow slowly, but the material division seems to develop more rapidly as it increases in amount, while the immaterial portion moves more slowly. These diverging rates are of great importance in determining the life of men. Material culture grows at an ever accelerated rate because each new invention makes possible many more. The use of fire, for example, made all the processes of cooking and metal working possible. The wheel brought with it all the inventions that one may roughly include between the watch and the railroad. The steam engine called forth thousands of new machines. The internal combustion engine made possible the automobile and the airplane with all of

Rate of
Growth
and its
Effect

³ F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 422.

⁴ A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, p. 15.

their accessories, including milady's costume that goes with each. In the past three hundred years the material civilization of the white race has been greatly changed and expanded. Certain social factors retard the growth of the immaterial culture. New ways and means of behaving toward matter are much easier to adopt than new ways and means of behaving toward human beings. Other instincts limit the free play of "inventiveness" and "curiosity" in things social. Changes in behavior toward human beings involve an actual change in the "kind of human being" a person is, and this runs counter to the great social motive, "consciousness of kind," which holds men in society. Men seem instinctively to dislike any revising of their customs, morals, and the usages of daily life. The experience of Peter the Great in his attempt to make Russians shave their beards and bring their wives to court functions is a good example of the difficulties which attend quick changes in social behavior. As a result of this dislike, material change often outruns social change, and there is a maladaptation between the two cultures. During the last century, because the invention of machinery made possible the employment of children in factories, and the immaterial culture in its ideas sanctioned the employment, much misery, degradation, and death resulted. It is only by an adjustment of material and immaterial cultures to one another that human life can be improved. Improvement is not made certain by changes in either culture; if improvement is achieved at all, it must be by coördinate changes in both. Progress is a victory over both "nature" and "human nature."

The Cultural Stages

In the accumulation of the world civilization which now nurtures the lives of men, certain stages of growth are noteworthy. When man's arboreal ancestor took to the earth his first weapon or tool was probably a club, the original item in the material culture of the human race. His calls to his fellows, and his ways and means of coöperating with them in the struggle for existence, were the first items in the immaterial culture. The stages of cultural growth have been named from certain evident advances in making implements.

The Old Stone Age

The oldest known remains of man's handicraft are called "eoliths" or "dawn stones." They are rocks chipped to fit a man's hand and may be thought of as "fist-hatchets." They appear to have been made in the third inter-glacial epoch, sometime between 50,000 and 100,000 years ago. Archæologists give the name "Paleolithic" or "Old Stone Age" to the period when these stones were used as the chief material element in human culture. These "dawn stones" were chipped by striking sharp blows against the rock. After a while a new method of chipping,

by applying pressure, induced a much finer skill in forming implements and weapons. Flint rock served as a material for making hammers, chisels, borers, drills, polishers, and similar tools; and with these, men turned to working the bone, ivory, and horn which accumulated about their camps. This stage is known as the "Middle Stone Age," but is usually left as part of the earlier division.

Archæologists give the name "Neolithic" or "New Stone Age" to the next advance. Men learned how to grind stones one against the other until one of them had a rounded, sharpened edge and was shaped to the desired form. The Indian's tomahawk was fashioned in this manner. Bows, arrows, and spears had been devised in the Middle Stone Age. In the New Stone Age the other tools were fitted with handles, and men were equipped with implements which made possible nearly all of the achievements common to the efforts of an ordinary mechanic of a century ago. Other advances, of course, accompanied these improvements. Pottery was made, wood was used for building, the jackal was taken into the little camps to become the dog, and grains were cultivated. In this state man's outlook upon the world reached the point where he became methodical in the improvement of his life, an improvement which he accomplished by the selection and constructive use of the materials in his physical environment. Man was slowly approaching the possibility of civilization. The New Stone Age began not more than 12,000 years ago, and ended in Egypt about 3000 B. C. It persisted in western Europe until 2000 B. C. The American Indians were not beyond this stage when the Europeans discovered them.

**The New
Stone Age**

The next stage came with the application of fire to the smelting of copper. Fire was an early discovery, probably about 50,000 years ago, but its first use in working metal came scarcely more than 5,000 years ago. Some Egyptian undoubtedly discovered copper ore melting in his fire, and used the new material for making knives and tools. Soon bronze, a harder substance formed by mixing copper and tin, replaced the softer metal. With tools and implements made from this new stuff, the Egyptians advanced rapidly. They built the first stone buildings, they devised writing, they organized government: they developed a civilized society.

**The
Copper-
Bronze
Age**

The next stage came with the discovery of iron, a substance more useful than bronze. Old Babylon had no iron, while Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete probably did not know iron until the thirteenth or fourteenth century before Christ. Iron was not in use in what are now the centers of western civilization until about 900 B. C.

**The Iron
Age**

Many names have been given to the present cultural stage.

**The Age
of Ma-
chinery**

"Age of steel," "age of steam," and "age of electricity" are the common designations. The tools of the ancient peoples of the East were more familiar to the great-grandparents of the present generation than the machines and processes which constitute the contemporary means of control over the physical environment. And these machines and processes, it should be remembered, appeared less than one hundred and fifty years ago—a short time, indeed, when compared with the centuries of the preceding cultural ages.

**The Tran-
sition to
Historical
Times**

Accompanying these changes in the material culture were all of those developments of association, customs, morals, ideas, beliefs, and practices which unite to complete the culture of any age. In the Stone Ages we have no record of these developments, because it was only with the invention of writing that a durable account of man's life became possible. Consequently the truly historical record of cultural development is available only for the last 5,000 or 6,000 years. The invention of writing appeared first, in Egypt, about 4000 B. C. The first records were those engraved upon monuments and tombs. Soon, however, pen, ink, and "papyrus" (from which the word "paper" is an obvious derivative) were discovered, and writing as we know it became possible. These developments marked the transition from "prehistoric" to "historic" times.

**The His-
torical
Periods**

Students of history recognize three general time divisions in this written record of man's civilization: the ancient, medieval, and modern periods. "Ancient history" includes the study of the monuments and records of Egypt, Babylon, and Nineveh, the history of the Greeks and their civilization, and the career of the Romans. This period ranges from the invention of writing to about the fifth century after Christ. The first victory of the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire at Adrianople in 378 A. D., or the so-called "fall of Rome" to the same barbarians a century later, are conventional events marking the end of the period. The centuries from these dates to about 1500 A. D. are studied as "medieval history." The Middle Ages were the period of the barbarian conquests, the spread of Christianity to all Europe, the development of feudalism, the crusades, and the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. Many events have been taken to mark its close: the invention of printing in 1451, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the discovery of America in 1492, and Luther's nailing up of his theses concerning indulgences in 1517. There is no such thing as a definite period in the history of civilization. This periodizing of history represents only a conventional method of indicating the several phases which are recognized in the cultural development of man's social organization. "Modern his-

**Ancient
Times****The Mid-
dle Ages**

tory" is the name applied to the period since the end of the Middle Ages. In modern times have come the great transforming elements in western civilization: printed books, competition in economic activity, world commerce, machinery, explosives, political democracy, material science, religious toleration, popular education, and the supremacy of the political state. So long as these chief cultural features persist in the future, no new descriptive name will be applied to the developing life of man.

Modern Times

The Irrational Development of Culture

Present civilization in all of its aspects rests upon beginnings set far back in the ages; cultural and historical periods mark only the great features of man's advance from the wild forest life of the third inter-glacial epoch to the present time. During this period of some 50,000 or 100,000 years, cultural accumulation has gone on, each advance coming by individual invention and discovery, and spreading by diffusion to other men, groups, and races. This cultural process has not been a reasoned development. Man has not set himself the task of reasonably constructing his civilization; more like an animal striving to secure food in a trick box, he has fumbled and "fooled" with his environment in the effort to win a settled and satisfying existence. Man has not thought out his present culture; he has accidentally accumulated it by continually trying to meet his needs, to express his impulses, and to satisfy his desires. Present culture is an irrational creation. Man now has it with him, and the great present need seems to be the devising of a working relation with the "leviathan." Man has reached the point where he must rationally consider his social heritage, its origin, its elements, and its meaning, both in its dangers to and in its possibilities for the future of human existence. The time to "tinker" has passed and the time to "think" has arrived. Perhaps this marks the advent of another cultural age.

There are certain types of activity which are fundamental in the lives of all men. They arise from the needs of the organism and the impulses of its original nature. In type they are as characteristic of savagery as of civilization. Since the social heritage consists of all the ways and means of living, these types of common activity establish the pattern of any culture. They are ordinarily called the "social institutions." Simply defined, these social institutions are forms of behavior which serve a function necessary to all men. They are five in number: the family, which is life-propagating; economic organization, which is life-sustaining; education, which is life-training; religion, which is life-motivating; and the state, which is life-protecting. The forms of activity and the items of belief which unite in these institutions constitute the bulk of every social heritage. There is, however, another portion

The Social Institutions as the Pattern of the Social Heritage

The
Family
Economic
Organiza-
tion
The School
The
Church
The State
Social
Values

of the social heritage which, although it emerges from the society patterned by these institutions, is at the same time equal to them in importance. Every age has certain aims, desires, goals, ends, services, or goods which it values above all other things. For them men live, strive, and exert their utmost to possess or to achieve. Such ends may be called "social values." They, too, represent the accumulation resulting from the previous life and labors of men. The institutions and social values alike have varied through the ages. Each has had a separate development, but not one of them has escaped the greater social evolution to proceed along an entirely independent line of growth. Together these institutions and values have held the life of man. In their ever-altering forms they have changed life and have been changed by it, but since primeval times they have steadfastly remained, transformed indeed, but persisting. As they now interlock and affect one another, they mold the lives of men and give form to their society. They are the sum total of the forces of humanity in the lives of present men.

The
Family
and The
Social
Heritage

Upon the biological division of the race into two sexes is formed the first and most universal of the social institutions, the family. Its first function is purely biological, the begetting of children. But since the newborn babe is not a fully developed member of the race, there must be growth during at least twelve or thirteen years before the child can take a place as an adult. During this period the family performs its second function, that of transmitting the social heritage to the young. It feeds and clothes the child, serving as industry; it guides him, serving as the church; it trains him, serving as the school; it protects him, serving as the state. Such were the family's functions in primitive society. But its services were not limited to the child; the association of adults in family relationships were of inestimable importance in the general development of society and the social heritage. "The family must have been the cradle, if not the birthplace of articulate speech, which has done so much to broaden and clarify human thought and conceptions. In the close bond of family life, mutual competition is replaced by mutual helpfulness. A large amount of energy, hitherto worse than wasted, is now utilized for the common good. The child by his dependence educates the parents more than they educate him. The family is the smallest human unit; it remains the unit in every larger stage of society. The fundamental and essential moral and intellectual training and progress are, and must always be, the work of the family."⁵ To the gregariousness of man was added this enforced coöperation of the sexes in the rearing of the young, which in the love of the

⁵ John Mason Tyler, *The Coming of Man*, p. 49.

mother, in the protection of the mother and children by the father, and in the later idea of "fatherhood," brought the development of "altruism," *i. e.*, the high regard for others. Altruism, in turn, became the essential element in the ideals of loyalty, justice, and charity which are fundamental to many of the higher social values. Thus in the family were engendered not only the organized activities which social development was to elaborate into institutions, but also those sentiments, ideals, and aspirations which give true quality to civilization.

Since the family arises out of sex division, it is evident that it exists in rudiments among the forms of life below man. Among them, however, the association of the sexes is relatively short, limited either to the period of mating or to the period of infancy of the offspring. Below man, the birds seem to have the highest type of family. Some species mate for life, and most species show the coöperation and association of the sexes during the period of infancy. They build the nest, watch the eggs, and rear the young. The young, when grown, leave the nest and forget the relationship. It is only as the period of infancy lengthens that the family group tends to become permanent. Among men only do the young retain the relationship with their parents beyond childhood. This fact, together with permanent mating, establishes the unity of the human family. Man has also developed the idea of kinship, which unites all blood relatives into one group. Likewise, he has formulated the idea of family duration through time, recognizing the relation of one generation to another. The human family, then, is an association of the sexes including, in theory at least, all blood relatives and passing through the generations. Such an institution is a stable and permanent force in society. The later idea of kinship as enduring from generation to generation does not exist in practice in many societies; the fundamental family is the father, mother, and children united through time, first by the parental loves, and then by the developed associations of life.

At its first appearance the human family was probably an association of mother and children. At this stage the father's part in procreation was not recognized. His relationship to the maternal group was established by gregariousness and sex attraction. This earliest type developed into the matriarchal family. The children belonged with the mother's people, and took their name. Inheritance of property and position descended through the female line. Among the Iroquois Indians the authority of a chief was inherited by his eldest sister's son. The brothers of the mother were the natural protectors of her children. The husband and father held a subordinate position; he contributed to the

The Forms
of the
Family

Origin

General
Type

The Ma-
triarchal
Family

family support but did not participate in its management. The women, however, were not the rulers of the society in which this family existed. The brothers rather than the husbands were the masters. This earliest type of the family seems to have existed until the struggle for existence became intense. At present, in a more or less complete form, the matriarchal family exists among a fourth of the world's inhabitants.

The Polygamous Family

In some societies there may be more than two adults living in the family relationship. This condition exists in two forms: polyandry, in which one woman is married to more than one man, and polygamy, in which the man has more than one wife. The former type exists where the struggle for existence is very severe and the birth-rate must be kept low, for example, in the mountainous regions of Tibet. The latter exists where the males are relatively few, where the conditions of life are relatively easy, under certain religious systems, and among the rich. Even among peoples who regularly sanction polygamy, its practice is far from universal. In Mohammedan countries poverty prevents most men from acquiring more than one wife.

The Monogamous Family

The preceding forms of the family seem to rise out of the material conditions of life. The more common form seems to be the natural relationship of the sexes. The monogamous family, one male and one female, exists among the animals and the birds, among the savages, the barbarians, the civilized men, and has existed in all times and in all places. This monogamous family produces the best types of individuals because it is a more efficient transmitter of the social heritage than the looser types of family organization. The monogamous family under the headship of the father has always been the social unit of western civilization.

The Patriarchal Family

Present opinion is practically agreed that mother-right preceded father-right in the development of family forms. The recognition of the father's part in procreation came long after the matriarchal family, and some authorities hold that the patriarchal family, *i. e.*, one under the headship of the father, antedated the true idea of paternity. The social need of the man for an heir to inherit his property and to carry on religious traditions, rather than an understanding of the biological relation of the father to the offspring, seems to have been the source of the idea of fatherhood.

Origin

The patriarchal family appears to have originated as a result of the warfare which existed among the primitive hordes. In this warfare the men murdered and plundered one another, and since property was almost non-existent women became the chief prizes. Furthermore, men seem naturally to have desired women with whom they had not grown up. As a result of her capture the

woman became the property of the man and also his slave. Her attachment to children born of the man prevented her from running away and there was formed under the property right of the man a unit family entirely subject to his authority. In the course of time these unit families grew so prevalent that the older forms were displaced, and social organization was transformed. The ever existing need of the father for a son also contributed to the final success of this more solid family organization.

The chief characteristic of the patriarchal family is the supreme authority of the father. "The eldest male parent—the eldest ascendant—is absolutely supreme in his household. His dominion extends to life and death, and is unqualified over his children and their houses as over his slaves; indeed the relations of sonship and serfdom appear to differ little beyond the higher capacity which the child in blood possesses of becoming one day the head of a family himself."⁶ Such was the patriarch of the ancient Hebrews. Among the Greeks the father's position was not so all-powerful. Among the Romans the father, as priest of the ancestral worship, as the only person recognized in the law, and as the sole owner of all family property, was quite as supreme as the Biblical patriarch. Indeed the words for father in the languages of these people did not originally denote "paternity" but "authority, dignity, and power."⁷ At the levels of culture upon which the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans lived this family was the social, religious, economic, and educational unit of society, and as such it was essential in the foundation of western civilization.

In earliest society the mere mating of the sexes was sufficient to found a family, but developing culture engendered a social recognition of the importance of such matings, which resulted in the embodiment of special rituals in the religious practices to approve the unions. Originally, therefore, marriage developed out of the family, but came at a later time to precede the fact of mating with a necessary religious and legal sanction. The marriage customs of primitive peoples present an endless variety of ceremonies and practices. Often there appears to have been a limitation of the number of eligible women and men from which to select a mate. Some groups enforced marriage within their own number, the "endogamous" marriage; others compelled the men to seek wives in a strange group, the "exogamous" marriage. Love marriages and capture of wives by brute force were uncommon and usually without social approval. The widest practice was wife purchase. By interlocking with property rights, this method militated against divorce. Divorce, the approved separa-

**At the
Basis of
Western
Civiliza-
tion
Among the
Hebrews,
Greeks,
and
Romans**

**Marriage
and
Divorce**

⁶ Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 123.

⁷ W. Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, p. 79.

tion of a recognized husband and wife, was undoubtedly common among primitive peoples. The aging of the wife, and even petty quarrels or mere desire, often served as excuses for the man to put the woman aside. Ordinarily the marriage was looked upon more as a union of families or groups than of individuals.

In ancient civilizations marriage was both an economic contract and a religious ceremony. The principals in the wedding were without choice, the parents or guardians having full control. Two steps were usual in completing the marriage: the betrothal, which represented the economic agreement; and the nuptials, which, by religious ceremonies, established the union. In Greece, the betrothal was considered as binding; in Rome it was not, unless followed by the nuptials. Divorce existed, but in early periods it was infrequent. Among the higher classes yearly divorces became common under the later Roman Empire.

**The
Christian
Sacrament**

During the first three hundred years of its existence, Christianity did not interfere with the marriage customs of the ancient world. With the growth of pagan immorality, the Church Fathers praised in even greater terms the virtues of virginity, and came to look upon marriage as the lesser of two evils, marriage or vice. After the barbarian invasions, with the growth of the Church power, marriage became a religious sacrament.

**The Civil
Contract**

The Protestant reformers looked upon marriage as a natural relationship and a civil contract. As a result, in most countries both marriage and divorce have passed under the control of the state. The economic aspects of the marriage prevailed well into the nineteenth century, the bride's dowry being a customary gift to the husband. Parental authority also remained as an essential element in European culture.

**Romantic
Love**

In America and other overseas areas of settlement the ease with which new homes could be established served to break down the property relationship between the families of the husband and the wife, with the result that romantic love, *i. e.*, free choice of the mate by the young, superseded parental control. In Europe the parents still hold some control over the marriage. The new marriage, which is based upon the affection and the attachment of husband and wife, represents the spiritualization of the family relationship, and is a distinct advance over the old family which was based on parental authority and economic interest. As a result of this change, because marriages are often ill considered, divorce has become more prevalent; but the present marriage is a moral advance over enforced unions characterized by brutality and immorality. Marriage by free choice under state authority is an essential component of the American social heritage.

Throughout the ages man, woman, and child have held varying positions in society.

In the matriarchal family the father was subordinate; in the patriarchal family he was supreme. At first the checks upon his authority were insufficient to prevent either selfish or violent treatment of the other members of the family. During the nomadic period man's work consisted in watching the herd. Such a life was one of indolence, broken by episodes of danger and violent action. When man turned to agriculture, he was forced to become a laborer, to endure long hours of toil, and to think in terms of planting and harvesting. His violence was modified, he learned patience and forbearance. In the main, man's work has required strength, speed, and violent exertion. He invented the weapons and arts of war. Later he took up industry, refined the first tools which had been invented by woman, and developed them into machinery. Religion, law, and philosophy in the realm of immaterial culture are his creations. Also, it should be noted that his name has been in contemporary life the common designation for his wife and children. Modern surnames among the English speaking peoples appeared between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, and were in the main derivatives from the names of places, offices, or occupations, and nicknames originally indicating some peculiar attribute of the individual. Man's chief work, however, has always been to meet the immediate and critical needs of the race. His mind is highly adaptive, meeting new situations quite readily. If in performing these tasks he has been given to violence and indulgence, maltreating his women and enslaving himself, developing culture has always served to refine his viciousness. Under modern conditions the adaptability of his mind rather than the strength of his body is called upon to serve the needs of the race.

The lot of the woman has always been hard. Everywhere and at all times she has been looked upon as weak, wicked, and fickle. In matriarchal society she was subservient to her brothers; in the patriarchal family she was the slave of her husband. The Chinese pictogram for "woman" means equally "evil" and "gloom." In Egypt to be as "unhappy as a woman" was the worst affliction. In golden Greece women were maltreated. Cato, a Roman senator, advised that they be kept in proper servility, while Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic emperor, held that they were fickle and guided by weak desires. The Middle Ages looked upon woman as the source of evil; yet the Virgin Mary was a religious symbol of mighty power in exhibiting the virtues of motherhood, while feudal chivalry extolled the graces of the aristocratic lady.

**The
Historical
Positions
of the
Family
Members**

The Man

**His Rôle
in the
Develop-
ment of
Society
and
Culture**

**The
Woman

Her Rôle
in the
Develop-
ment of
Society
and
Culture**

But worship and chivalry alike failed to release woman from her harsh condemnation. By all the law of the ages she has been counted inferior to men. The Mosaic law left her at the mercy of the husband, and the English common law declared her to be his property. As late as 1663 an English judge upheld the right of the husband to inflict corporal punishment upon his wife. Less than a generation ago wife-beating was not uncommon. Religion, likewise, bound her to a slavish position. Christianity exhorted the husband to be gentle, but commanded the wife's obedience. Woman, nevertheless, has had a great part in building civilization. She founded the first home and will preside over the last. She domesticated the animals and cultivated the plants. She invented the first tools, cooked the first food, and made the first garments. She created the arts of peace. She has been the keeper of virtues and the guardian of morals. Man usually has been as wicked as woman would allow him to be. If man did the work of immediate necessity to the race, woman in her prolonged and less arduous labor made it permanent, selecting those achievements which best served the purposes of life. Indeed, she domesticated man, for she always kept some control over him, refining his violence and drawing out his finer qualities.

**The Traditional
Views of
Man and
Woman**

Tradition has provided the modern world with contrasting ideas of man and woman. The former is made out a strong, intelligent, sometimes brutal, but always masterful character. The latter is exhibited as weak, fickle, and servile, fit only to serve pleasure, useless in the serious labors of life. Modern psychology finds no basis in measurable mental differences between the sexes for these ideas. In fact, these ideas are merely the creations of minds judging the effects of social environment in establishing character. The rough crude life of savagery, barbarism, and early civilization compelled men to be quick and assertive. Women, on the other hand, being condemned to menial labor or exploited by men's passions, appeared to be quite worthless and useless. The degradation of women is the result of the same social organization which condemned multitudes of men to slavery or slaughtered them for the sake of whim and show. But in fact men have been known to be weak, excitable, and treacherous; women, above all, have showed the capacity to endure privations. Each is endowed with the common elements of the original nature; only as the social heritage permits a different expression of their inborn traits do they exhibit any marked variations in mental or moral strength.

The Child

It is evident from these views of man and woman that the child has been subjected to many kinds of treatment. In primitive times the chances of the child for survival were few. Hygiene was unknown, dietetics a mockery, and discipline a farce or an

ordeal. Only as the child came to have value as a chattel did his care become more reasonable. The killing of infants, especially girls, was common in all early times as a method of keeping down the population. China and India still show examples of these practices. In the patriarchal family the first son, as the heir, became the object of special attention. The early Egyptians appear to have protected the young chiefly that they might become laborers. Among the Greeks the boy baby was prized, but the girl was looked upon as an affliction. The Romans seem to have been less partial to male offspring. The humanitarian movement may be said to have begun when the Hebrews abolished the sacrifice of children as part of religious ritual. And Christianity, with its doctrine that every human being has a soul, was a prime factor in working for a better treatment of children. The Roman emperors, from Augustus to Constantine, took many measures to save child-life. Antoninus Pius founded the first protective institution for girls, and Justinian proclaimed the absolute freedom of persons who grew up as foundlings. Under the old custom foundlings became the slaves of those who reared them. With the coming of the Teutons conditions became worse. Among them child exposure, murder, and slavery were common, but Christianity slowly modified their brutality. During the Middle Ages a marble receptacle was kept within the doors of many churches to receive abandoned infants, but the stealing and selling of children into slavery still prevailed. Later when lords and municipalities followed the examples of the monastic establishments in providing care for orphans, there was an improvement in the conditions of child-life. Mohammedanism of the same period taught that foundlings were free and were to be supported by the state. The religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries broke the steady advance, and again child abandonment, murder, and distortion for gain increased alarmingly. Always the children had to work either in the field or at the bench, but with the coming of the factory they were torn from the farm and cottage to become virtual slaves to the new machines. To sum it up, during all of the ages to the present time the common view has regarded the child as a "small adult," subject to the same discipline, torture, and labor.

Obviously something has occurred in modern times to alter these traditional relations of the members within the patriarchal family.

The change to the factory system of industry was the greatest single blow at the traditional family. In domestic industry the mother and daughters spun thread, wove cloth, made clothing, and prepared food supplies. The father and sons tilled the soil and made at the home bench and forge the essential implements and utensils of life. Machinery put an end to all of this. Men, women,

Forces
Affecting
the
Family
in Mod-
ern Civil-
ization

The Factory System

and children alike were drawn from their homes. With their departure the companionship and coöperation, developed in the domestic industry, declined. The family circle became one of individuals with distinct economic functions rather than one bound by interwoven ties of mutual service.

The City

As the factory system developed the great cities grew, and the homestead or cottage became the boarding house, apartment, or house and lot. The historic culture of the family dissolved. The cellar and the pantry became the corner grocery and the delicatessen. The home school became the kindergarten. The family fireside became the dance hall or the club-room. Family worship became the blessing over the day's important meal, or disappeared entirely. The weakening of custom and tradition in the rapid flow of city life threw the family back upon the love bonds for its stability.

Individualism

Another development struck more directly at these bonds. The philosophical spirit of the age emphasized the individual. Democracy placed responsibility upon the ballot cast by the individual. Diversity of belief founded upon personal opinion superseded universality of dogma and faith. A career became the ambition of both man and woman. Parents ceased to make matches for their children. Love became the romantic adventure, the divine right of youth. Property was divided among all heirs. The child came to be considered for himself, rather than as a contributing member in the family life; and in the consequent development of numerous personalities, family ties, since the members of the group found themselves more often incompatible, were loosened.

The result of these influences upon the old family was to strip it of the religious, economic, and social functions which had made it the unit of society, and to leave in its place a sex and age group held together by the mutual affections of its founders, the husband and wife.

General Social Forces

Certain other forces unite with these to give the present family its greatest single characteristic, instability. Men have not learned that the woman is an equal partner in conducting the home. In most instances she is economically dependent upon him, except in the ranks of the lowest paid workers where both must struggle to secure an adequate family income. Among the higher income groups, the wife too often lives as a parasite, hiring others to do as much of the housework as possible, and exercising her prerogative as the advertisement of her husband's economic success, while he, under the pressure of economic struggle, is likely to be overworked. In the upper classes the wife is certainly a social parasite, and often the husband is a drone. In the lower, the middle, and

the upper grades of society, and under all circumstances of wealth and education, there is difficulty in maintaining the marriage partnership. Another factor contributing to the instability of the family is the tabu on proper sex education, which is one of the deepest laid elements in the entire social heritage. Men and women marry blindly, ignorant of the principles of their relationship, and ignorance and passion unite to disturb their affections. Still another cause operating to disrupt families is the prevalence of vice and social diseases. The double standard of morals—another hard-shelled element in the social heritage—carries the blight of disease into the family circle. Romantic love, likewise, since it is often confused with passing attraction, has made the “hasty marriage soon broken” notorious in American life.

The instability of the modern family is most evident in the rising divorce rate. In the United States this rate in 1870 was 28 divorces for each 100,000 of the population; in 1916 the rate had risen to 112. Compared with rates in foreign countries, the American rate is extreme. For example, in 1900 the French rate was 29 per 100,000, the German rate 15, and the English rate 3. About two-thirds of all divorces are granted upon the petitions of women, and 40 per cent of the families broken by divorce involve children. “Cruelty” is the most commonly designated plea, but this term covers a multitude of sins, and is probably more convenient than accurate. Among the lowest classes desertion without legal divorce is prevalent, and shows a tendency to increase.

**The Di-
vorce Rate**

Accompanying this increase of divorces there is, contrary to current belief, an increasing marriage rate. There are fewer single people in America than in any other civilized state, and at present more young people are marrying than in the late nineteenth century. One-half of the women and one-fourth of the men are married before they are twenty-five; by the age of forty-five, 89 per cent of the women and 83 per cent of the men have married; at the age of sixty, only 6 per cent of each sex remain single. There are several reasons for this increase in the marriage rate, important among them being: first, the increasing number of marriageable persons due to the lengthening of life, and second, the tendency among members of the industrial and agricultural classes to marry early. In the middle and professional classes the tendency is in the opposite direction: the number of marriages is decreasing and they are contracted at a much later age.

**The Mar-
riage Rate**

If, however, all the forces playing about the family were destructive, the outlook for the future of the race would, indeed, be dark. But just as the new age brought destructive forces, so also it brought constructive movements. The old-fashioned family

was authoritative and harsh in many respects; the present family is unstable; but the family of the future promises to be a more moral and spiritual institution.

**Social
Hygiene**

First among these constructive forces is the movement for "social hygiene." This aims at the moralizing of man's sex life. During all the ages the man has been more or less free to indulge his sex appetites without falling under a social ban. In modern times he has commercialized vice. Society, however, has made the participating woman and the child born out of wedlock social outcasts. This condition has resulted in the double standard of morals; indulgence for men, chastity or degradation for women. The present program aims, in the first place, to point out the relation of continence to health, to break down the tabu on sex knowledge, and to arouse public opinion against the double standard of morals. In the second place, it aims at a general physical recreation for the population, which in its result will lessen sex appetites. On its medical side the program relies upon the treatment of the diseased and the quarantine of infected women. In this last feature it accepts the double standard of morals because it fails to recognize that the man is the real germ carrier. Legal measures aim to protect the feeble-minded of both sexes, to restrict and regulate vice, even going so far as to fine or imprison offenders. Social hygiene desires to bring men into the marriage relation with high ideals and fit to perform their part in procreation.

**The
Woman's
Movement**

Parallel to this movement for moralizing man's sex life runs the woman's movement, which aims at her liberation from traditional and legal restrictions. In the modern world woman rises to be man's equal. The French Revolution set out to liberate men, and from the tumult came a voice calling for the freedom of women. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft, an Englishwoman, published *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Her program was to transform woman from an object for the indulgence of man's pleasure into an instrument of social service. Women were to be individuals like men, educated, with occupations and rights under the law. As a result of this small voice, and of many other voices which during the nineteenth century answered its call, women have now the rights to acquire and to own property, to be educated, to practice the professions, and to vote. America has been a leader in realizing this program. Woman's liberation is not yet complete, but enough has been achieved to assure success. Man's social supremacy is ending; now woman's sentiment unites with his adaptability to refine the crudities of the social heritage.

**The Child
Welfare
Movement**

Accompanying these movements to moralize man and to liberate woman, is a similar movement for child welfare. In 1824 a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals was founded, and out of

this, fifty years later, grew a society to prevent cruelty to children. Legislation which provided for the establishment of schools and the regulation of working conditions had been passed before the latter date both in Europe and America. These societies for the protection of children soon spread from America to England, and then to the continent. Today there is no civilized country which does not have such a society to protect and secure the rights of children. The program of the child welfare movement can best be summarized in the words addressed by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover to a recent conference of child welfare workers. He declared "that there should be no child in America that has not been born under proper conditions, that does not live in hygienic surroundings, that suffers from under-nutrition, that does not have prompt and efficient medical attention, and that does not receive primary education in the elements of hygiene and good health." Much has been done to realize this program. Standards of height and weight have been worked out by which normal developments can be measured. Treatments for bodily defects, especially for those of the teeth, eyes, throat, and spine, have been devised, and children's diseases have become a special field of medical science and practice. Investigations have thrown light upon the proper foods for growing children. Supervised play and physical education are becoming common. The child's mental development has been studied with the result that the school's course of study is being adapted to his advancing capacities, with special treatments for both sub-normal and super-normal pupils. The evil of child labor has long been recognized, and much has been done to better the conditions. Already amendments to the federal constitution in line with the two previously discussed movements have been passed—the eighteenth, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, and the nineteenth, which granted the ballot to women. At this writing the fight to complete the trilogy of great amendments goes on with the attempt to secure the adoption of an amendment making possible the abolition of child labor. Much legislation protecting children has been enacted in the several states. Iowa has the first "Child Welfare Station," and Ohio has the first "Children's Code"; and other states are following these leads. At present seventeen states are working on a special code of laws for children. This movement also includes services to the mother and the home. In several foreign countries mothers are pensioned. The goal of the movement is to make normal child-life possible through scientific care in the home, school, and public places.

This moving of the child into the view of public authority and the arousing of interest in his development is one of the most

**Cultural
Signif-
icance
of Child
Welfare
Work**

important departures in modern culture. It is through the child that the race, civilization, and the nation survive, and social improvement can be best achieved through the child's development. Furthermore the parents' love for the child is as universal a fact of human life as any that can be discovered. Certainly this love includes more of aspiration, charity, and justice than any "brotherhood of man" that can be dreamt of. Indeed, as this parental love is socialized in the public recognition of the rights and welfare of the child, a true basis for social justice is laid. All children, rich and poor, strong and weak, are equal before the burdens of their future citizenship. Child welfare work aims to make them ready for the coming responsibilities. In the presence of the living child the future, rather than the dead past, becomes the point of attention about which life in all of its phases may well center.

Eugenics

Finally, modern scientific knowledge with its data concerning the effects of bad heredity is itself exerting an influence upon the founding of families. Eugenics, as a science, is the study of human heredity, and aims as its service to society to bring about such proper matings as may prevent the increase of the biologically unfit. As yet, the eugenic measures which have become laws are nothing more drastic than the requirements of health certificates from the prospective brides and grooms. Enlightened public and private opinion is a more ready instrument than law for the employment of such measures in improving the heredity of the race.

Historical monogamy rested upon poverty, law, and religion, as well as upon its functional superiority over polygamy. With the passing of tradition as a support, its functional superiority alone remains. The constructive influences—the woman's movement, child welfare work, moral education, and eugenics—which are affecting the family, are laying the basis for the continuance of monogamy. The "moral man," the "free woman," and the "normal child" are new ideals. The very ideals of "home" and "romantic love" are recent. The "comradeship" of man, woman, and child is still more of the present. As these ideals synthesize the "new family," a spiritualized union of man and woman, serving with the aid of science both the biological and cultural function of the family, may replace the present unstable relationship of the sexes.

**The
Family in
the Devel-
opment of
America**

The founders of the colonies were protagonists of the "old-fashioned home." The Puritans found their guidance in the Old Testament, and the Cavaliers of Virginia brought the English law with its suppression of woman and the entailing of property. The middle colonies had a less severe set of family principles, but all

alike accepted the sovereignty of the father over the mother and children. Life under frontier conditions reacted upon the family in two ways: the ease of securing land hastened marriages, and sons and daughters left their parents behind to go into new regions to make their own homes. This tended to break the family unity and to weaken paternal authority. The population, however, was sparse, so that each home circle became the center of social and recreational life. The mutual economic services of husband and wife, and the hardships encountered by a family in frontier life, welded the bonds within each new family stronger than ever. Out of this situation came the American ideal of family life, the spiritual union of family members under the common affections of the father and mother. Across the continent the "homestead" made its way. The dwelling was at one time a "log cabin," then a "dugout," or a "sod shanty," and in more recent times it was a "shack" on the western prairies or in the western mountains. But now the day of the frontier and the homestead is gone, and the American family ideal must survive in the newer social conditions of industrial and city life. As a result, while the unstable families are common, the newer idealized homes are increasingly numerous. The destructive and constructive forces affecting the family run full current in present American life.

Between the family and the greater social body there is an interaction which affects the conditions of each. In its biological functioning the family endows the individual with the inborn original nature which limits his life and contributes to the quality of the population. In its cultural functioning the family imparts to the individual his first and most lasting impression of the culture of his nation, class, and locality. By this endowing and imparting the family acts as the very shuttle which weaves the fabric of society. On the other hand, general social conditions react upon the family. Tradition and law establish its form. The economic system determines its support. Bad sanitation and low moral standards corrupt its health. Faulty education prevents its proper functioning. Intolerance and prejudice break its spirit. This interaction between the family and group life constitutes both the greatest weakness and the greatest strength of a social structure. A society improves only as advancing culture develops individual life, and in this interaction between family and society the bases of individual life are laid. Under modern culture the family remains the fundamental social institution, but civilization now stands or falls, not by the success or failure of a single institution, but according to the efficiency of the entire body of culture in serving the whole of human life. The instability of the present

**The
Family in
Relation
to Gen-
eral So-
cial Or-
ganization**

family is but the reflection of the general social instability. Cultural modifications now going on promise a new stability to the family in a reconstructed society.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: ECONOMIC ORGANI- ZATION

**The Basis
of Eco-
nomic
Organiza-
tion**

Needs

Wants

**Economic
Self-
Interest**

No life can exist without food. The amœba envelops particles of matter and digests them; the plants strike root deeply into the soil, seeking nutriment; the animals rove the land, grazing or devouring; and primitive man did as they, taking his food where he found it, eating all edible products he knew without cooking or curing. This first need of any form of life for food is the basis of all economic activity. One of the apparent differences that distinguish man from the animals is his wearing of clothes. For him this becomes another need. Besides these there are other needs, such as those for shelter and heat. These are the "creature needs"; beyond them man develops "wants." All men need food; one man eats black bread, another wants French pastries; one woman wears gingham, another wants silks; one family lives in a cottage, another wants a mansion. Wants, and they are unnumbered, are developed by culture, and are shaped by custom, suggestion, vanity, and reason. Needs are primary and do not change, while wants are secondary and changeable. Need determines the function an article serves, but want determines its form. These needs and wants blend into the "self-interest" of every individual. To serve his self-interest, he must secure articles and use them according to his desires. Self-interest directs him to action, and his acts, together with those of all other men as they seek to satisfy their wants and needs, establish "economic organization." Where primitive man desired only food and shelter, his savage successor wanted the same but, in addition, weapons and wealth; and others came to want adornments, bird feathers, teeth, and brass. Wants and desires accumulate. Each age develops new ones which become a part of the social heritage. Medieval man wanted spices, armor, and landed wealth; modern man wants innumerable foods, fine clothing, the mechanical comforts of life, and any and all kinds of wealth. Self-interest directs the activity of an individual toward securing the objects and services which the social heritage indicates are desirable.

Economic organization includes any and all forms of action

directed toward satisfying this self-interest. It becomes the second great social institution. The savage who reached forth, took the fruit from the tree, conveyed it to his mouth, and ate it, performed the complete economic act. The fruit was in existence; it had grown, it was "produced," in this case by nature. When the individual cultivated the plant his activity became "economic production." When he conveyed the food to his mouth he brought it from "producer" to "consumer," performing the function of "economic distribution." The use of the fruit for food was "economic consumption," the final purpose for which all such activity is undertaken. Economic activity consists in securing the goods and services necessary for life under the social heritage; consequently, most of every man's life is spent in "producing," "distributing," and "consuming" activities, with the result that the types of these activities and the ideas attached to them are extremely important. They set the pattern of the day-by-day life which most men lead.

The man who ate the fruit of the tree was on the lowest level of economic organization, being merely a "collector" of such seeds, fruits, roots, birds, and animals as he could lay his hands on. When he seized a stone or a club, or later used his "first hatchet," he became a "hunter." Production in the economic sense began only with the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants, both of which were achievements of Neolithic men some eight or nine thousand years ago. They kept the dog, the cow, the sheep, the goat, and the pig; and they grew barley, wheat, millet, peas, and flax about their camp sites. Where pasture was plentiful the hunter became a "herdsman." Over the plains of eastern Europe and Asia this nomadic life became dominant. The Jews made their first appearance in history as the keepers of cattle. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it seems that a settled agricultural life first developed where climatic conditions were favorable. In the transition from mere collection to economic production based on inventions, domesticated animals, the cultivation of plants, and many other phases and types of economic activity appeared. The distribution of stone implements over Europe indicates that a considerable trade existed at a very remote time. It was of course "barter," the exchange of article for article. As men wandered from region to region they acquired tastes for the products of each, and thus a traveling trade began. In time this trade became established along favorable routes. Commerce tended always to extend the contacts of men and worked to counteract localism and tradition. It was highly important in determining the origin and growth of the first cities.

The first division of labor was between the sexes: the man was

The Development of Economic Organization

The Divisions of Economic Activity and their Importance in the Daily Life of Men

The Economic Achievements of Primitive Man

Tools

Domesticated Animals

Agriculture

Barter

The Division of Labor

**Economic
Classes:
Masters,
Slaves**

a hunter and the woman was a laborer with the first tools, working either at the fireside or in the fields. When men ceased killing their war-captives and made them into slaves who took their place beside women in the historic division of labor, a servile class working to support a master class appeared. The surplus of goods which enabled the first civilizations to construct their tombs, temples, and monuments of triumph, was created by the labor of slaves.

**Private
Property**

Primitive times saw the first inventions, the first occupations, and the first division of labor, and they likewise brought the idea of property. Among some of the lowest tribes of the earth the idea of private property is unknown and ownership, insofar as it is recognized, is centered in the family or in some larger group. Varying degrees of communism seem to have featured all primitive economy. Private property has its psychological basis in man's instincts to acquire goods and to resist any one who attempts to deprive him of them. Historically, private property seems to have originated with the personal possession of weapons and tools. Among nomads the herds at first belonged to the tribe; later their ownership went to the chiefs or the patricians. In time these head men also acquired the land. They were the first true possessors of private property. Primitive economic organization afforded a bare sustenance, but its achievements gave support to the first civilization, and in the creation of the economic classes—master-owner and slave-laborer—gave an historic division to future societies.

**The Eco-
nomic
Achieve-
ments of
the An-
cient
World**

Every ancient civilization rested upon some one food crop. Chaldea and Egypt grew wheat; China, rice; Mexico, maize; and Peru, the invaluable potato. These remain the five great food crops of the world; and agriculture is still the fundamental industry, supplying more than 75 per cent of all materials used in production. The discovery of the metals gave the tools improved forms, and with them man became a "craftsman," laboring at his fireside, working as he pleased, selling his goods to his neighbors, and cultivating a bit of land at the same time. Man probably first acquired a technical skill in the making of pottery. The modern

**Permanent
Agricul-
ture**

**Craftsman-
ship**

world has not surpassed the achievements of the ancients in some lines of skilled craftsmanship. At the opening of historical times the traveling trade of earlier men had passed into the hands of an ever-growing class of merchants, half traders and half thieves, who plied their trade along the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, to the valley of the Euphrates and on to the East. Barter remained the usual form of exchange, but in time there came to be commodities in relation to which all others had a recognized value. These commodities were "media of exchange." Gold and silver had long

**Extended
Trade**

been highly prized on account of their scarcity and brightness, and now because of their permanence and high value they superseded more perishable and bulky articles as the media of exchange. About 600 B. C., in Lydia of Asia Minor, the first coins were struck, and "money," as we know it, came into existence. Thus simple barter developed into the more complex process of selling for one price and buying for another price, *i. e.*, the evaluation of an article in the terms of a medium of exchange.

Money

All the complexities of contemporary financial organization were involved in this cultural advance, but its first effect was to bring about a general commercial expansion. The Phenicians of the Syrian coasts traded along the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and became the pioneers of maritime commerce. Later Athens and Rome became commercial states. They developed the grain trade, and wheat, as an article of food, took its place in the exchange with such produces as slaves, textiles, and luxuries. Retail establishments became common in the ancient cities. In Rome one could purchase almost any product of the ancient world for a moderate price.

Money, and the fully developed idea of private property, were the two great contributions of ancient civilization to modern economic organization. There may be a spark of truth in Proudhon's notorious definition, "property is theft," because in Rome, where private property rights had their full development, the spear, the weapon of conquest and spoliation, was the symbol of possession. The Roman owner was allowed the full use of his possessions, which might include any and all things from slaves to lands. The owner could permit another to use them, but the borrower, besides being compelled to return the property, was bound to pay for its use. When the property loaned was land, the return payment was "rent;" when it was money, the price paid for its use was "interest." Also, the owner had the right to dispose of his property by sale, gift, or bequest. Above all, he had the right to acquire property in any amount. In fact Roman law recognized the owner's rights of "use and abuse" in property, and thus were established all the essential features of the law of private property now prevailing in western civilization. Ancient civilizations rested upon slave labor, established by law and maintained by force. In fact, a social order without an unfree working-class was inconceivable to them.

**Private
Property**

**Legally
Estab-
lished
Slavery**

Rome's greatness as the "mistress of the world" rested upon this economic foundation, but in time wealth became her master and her destroyer. The success of the barbarians came only after the empire had been drained of its wealth and the city had been debauched by its expenditure. In the centuries of chaos which

followed the fall of the Imperial City trade declined, agriculture decayed, and the handicrafts lost many of their secrets. It was not until the eighth century that a settled economic life reappeared.

**Economic
Organi-
zation in
the Middle
Ages**

The Manor

The Gild

Economic organization as it developed during the Middle Ages was featured by two unique institutions, the manor and the gild. Under feudalism the land was held as tenures for military service by lords from some greater lord or king. In most cases the holding of each lord was divided into four parts: his own, a portion for the church, another portion which was cut in strips and allotted to the cultivators, and a fourth portion which was left as common land where the animals of lord and cultivators alike were pastured. These cultivators were "serfs," *i. e.*, they were attached to the land. They could not be removed from it by sale, compulsion, or military draft; neither could they leave it of their own free will. The methods of cultivation were inefficient. Each year one-third of the land was left fallow. No manures were ever applied, and the yields were small. It has been estimated that nine-tenths of Europe's population lived on some eleven thousand feudal holdings that divided the continent.

**A Local
Self-
sufficing
Economy**

In the tenth century, when city life revived, the handicrafts underwent a development which reached its climax in the later Middle Ages. The various crafts were organized in associations known as "gilds." There were three grades of members: the masters who controlled production and distribution, the journeymen who were the ordinary workers but were privileged to set themselves up as masters if they would abide by the rules of the gilds, and the apprentices who were learning the trade. Through the gild the standard of workmanship, output, and price were controlled. A product of high quality and a large measure of economic justice featured this organization of industry. On the financial side, payment in kind or in services still remained; in fact money had largely disappeared. Speculation, profits, and interest-taking were condemned by the Church. Mere wealth-getting was looked upon with disfavor. Two outstanding characteristics are evident in this economic organization. First, it was largely local, using easily available materials and selling in a restricted market. In the second place, it was self-sufficient. Each local unit supplied its own needs. In spite of the inefficiency of agriculture and the limitations on industry, the masses of the people enjoyed an economic independence, due to their security in the rights to the use of land and to the fruits of their toil, which is unknown today.

Within this medieval economic organization personal relations were not easily alterable, change of employment was difficult, and change of residence even more so. Man's life was bound by the customary and local practices of his community. Above all, his

station was firmly fixed in the feudal scheme of social classes. Nevertheless, by a close scrutiny of the life of the eighth or ninth century one can discern an individual whose existence was outside these general restrictions. He was a trader. A small oriental trade had persisted from Roman times, and this, when the Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries revived an appetite in western Europe for the commodities of the East, developed into the flourishing commerce which gave splendor and prosperity to the North Italian cities. At the same time the Hanse towns of Germany, Flanders, and the Baltic States were developing the commerce of northern Europe. English wool, Flemish cloth, and German leather and wood products found their way across the Alps in return for the spices and fineries brought from the East and South. In setting up their gild restrictions and regulations the craftsmen accepted the feudal point of view in social organization. The merchants also had their associations, but they never sought a close limitation of their activities except to avoid competition. Their regulations were designed to secure for the merchants of the community a monopoly in the local market, and were not made for the higher purpose of improving the methods of traffic. In this trade developed the first opportunity for the profitable use of wealth for the purpose of gaining more wealth. "A capitalist may be regarded as the owner of a mass of wealth which is constantly altering its form by means of exchange. He tries to get gain by turning over his stock and is on the lookout for opportunities of applying it and replacing it frequently."¹ It was in this process of applying and replacing wealth so as to increase its amount that the medieval trader was engaged. He aimed to buy in a cheap market and to sell in a dear one, and this is still the first rule of business success. He grew rich by taking advantage of what the economists call "place utility," which means that an article plentiful in one place and scarce in another will have a higher exchange value in the latter, and to the person who conveys it thither will come a handsome profit. In this transportation of goods the merchant performed a real service, making it possible for the local areas of Europe to enjoy products which they did not grow or could not manufacture. This valued service and the profits of his trade gave the merchant his place in society and guaranteed his security, for he had no recognized status in feudal society. He was an individual whose existence depended upon economic success; and as such he may be looked upon as the economic ancestor of the present-day capitalist, and as the cultural progenitor of that "economic individualism" which is the fundamental attribute of modern economic life.

The Transition to the Economic Organization of Modern Times: the Origin of Capitalism

The Trader of the Middle Ages: the First Modern Capitalist

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, p. 497.

The Essential Features of Capitalism and the Conditions Necessary for its Development

No definite dates can be given for the appearance of capitalism. It had a slow growth during the later Middle Ages, and developed its full form only at the opening of the nineteenth century. Its essential features may be summarized as follows: first, individual enterprise: the employment of physical strength, mental ability, and wealth by each person in any economic activity he may choose; second, credit: the advance of goods and services with the prospect of future payment; third, profit-taking: securing upon the sale of goods or services a return to the vendor over and above their cost to him; and fourth, speculation: the attempting to make profits by risking wealth on the chance of manipulating economic activities or on the variation of economic conditions.

The Entrepreneur

These essential features of capitalism expressed themselves in human behavior, and produced within the old social and economic order a new type of person, the "entrepreneur" or "enterpriser," as he is called by the economists. It was he who journeyed afar to trade, risked his wealth in new industries, and made loans to individuals and governments. If at first he was merely a wandering trader, after a time he became a rich city dweller, a merchant, a banker, or a manufacturer. Lawyers, as the protectors of property rights, found their great opportunity in his service. As his type increased in number there appeared throughout western civilization a new social class known to historians as the "bourgeoisie."

The Bourgeoisie

Modern history in large measure has been determined by the rise of this class to affluence, power, and prestige, until they overshadowed the old privileged orders and dominated the working masses. All conditions necessary for the advance of capitalism operated to increase the number and power of these enterprisers. The accumulation of an excess of wealth over and above that necessary to satisfy the needs of its owners was requisite to their very existence. Wide areas of trade and active markets were necessary to give free play to their initiative and to absorb the products of their energies; a laboring class deprived of the independent means to earn a livelihood gave them the opportunity to acquire complete control of both production and distribution. The invention of machinery afforded the enterpriser the broadest possible chance to use accumulated wealth and dependent laborers in undertakings for his own profit. And the same centuries which brought the accumulation of capital, the expansion of markets, and the creation of a dependent laboring class, gave such intensity to the spirit of gain that no opportunity for making profits escaped exploitation. Slowly from the tenth to the eighteenth century the conditions necessary for capitalism's fullest application appeared. Such were the forces and processes

which brought the bourgeoisie into existence, and which raised its members to the positions of power.

The first communities to develop a capitalistic organization were the North Italian cities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The guilds remained, but they were associations of capitalistic traders and employers rather than of craftsmen. The great Medici family acquired its wealth in the wool business. The merging of this family with the aristocracy of Europe, however, showed the limitations that remained on economic individualism. Wealth-getting did not yet claim the full devotion of man's energies and faculties. It was on the sixteenth century merchant vessel that the social significance of capitalism was first made clear. The voyage of the merchant vessel was an enterprise undertaken for the sole purpose of acquiring wealth, usually by any method and in any form. Each individual aboard was stripped of every feudal right and privilege. Each stood to the other in a relation established either by contract, or under the fear of a superior authority. Political authority was vested in the captain, who was either the vessel's owner or his agent. Thus the employer monopolized political power. The members of the crew, while on board at least, were dependent upon their employer, and their interest in his success was largely limited by their desire to keep alive. The treatment of seamen when out of port was notoriously cruel, and their general living conditions were the worst imaginable. They were the nascent proletariat; their quarters were the antecedents of the industrial city's slums; and mutiny—like revolt—was punishable with death.

It is not strange, then, that these "good ships" gave the greatest single impulse to the developing capitalism. The wealth of the North Italian cities was due to their monopoly of the oriental trade. As culture advanced in western Europe the demand for the commodities of this trade expanded; prices were high and profits great. Naturally men of the Atlantic coasts desired to share in these riches. The monopoly of the Italian cities rested upon their control of the Mediterranean route to the East. If the westerners were to share in the trade they had either to break this control or find a new route. The former seemed impossible, and so the latter was attempted. Early in the fifteenth century Portuguese sailors struck south along the coast of Africa and finally (1498) reached India. In the meantime greater things had happened. Advances in mathematics and science, together with improvements in ship-building and navigation, made possible the realization of a Genoese sailor's dream of sailing westward across the "Dark Ocean" to Cathay. Columbus probably never knew that he had discovered a

The First Appearance of Capitalism as the Predominating Form of Economic Organization

The Cities of North Italy

The Merchant Vessel

The Steps in the Rise of Capitalism

The Commercial Revolution and the Expansion of Economic Enterprise

New World, but his achievement, together with those of the Portuguese, aroused all western Europe to new activity. Immediately commerce escaped its ancient limits and became ocean-borne and world-wide. This was the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth century. The markets necessary for the disposal of an enterpriser's wares were opened, and the wealth of a New World and that of the fabled Orient lay open to those who dared to seek it. The greater part of the original capital fund of modern industry was secured by the exploitation of these lands and peoples. In the anxious quest for these markets and this wealth, individual enterprise and acquisitiveness—two fundamental elements in capitalism—were given new intensity.

The Finan-
cial Revolu-
tion

Money
Economy
Credit

Not only was the capitalistic spirit intensified, but it was given new materials to feed upon. The introduction of new products and processes quickened the general economic life. The new wealth from overseas made possible the completion of the financial reorganization that was necessary before capitalism could have full sway. In medieval times trade had been barter and most payments had been made in kind. In the cities, however, the use of money had persisted from ancient times. Collection of taxes by the Church and later by the state familiarized the masses of the population with the use of money. With the steady growth of commerce its use slowly replaced the older "natural economy," so that by the sixteenth century "money economy" prevailed throughout western Europe. Although the use of credit and banking were familiar to the later Middle Ages, they received their capitalistic organization in early modern times. Early banking operations centered about money changing and "book credit." The latter was the first genuine banking operation. The bank received deposits of coin and metal, and entered upon its books a credit for the sum. In making payments the depositor gave a "bill of exchange," which when presented to the bank resulted in the transfer of credit from his account to that of the individual to whom the bill of exchange had been made payable or to the account of the person who presented the bill. This operation was an invention of the Italians, but it was first fully applied in the Bank of Amsterdam. In addition to this receiving of deposits and making of payments by the transfer of book-credit, the chief functions of a modern bank are those of issuing notes and making loans. In present practice the note issue is usually legally restricted to certain banks, while the lending of money is the essential banking operation. The Bank of England, organized in 1696, first undertook these modern functions. While money and credit operations were superseding "natural economy," three other phases of capitalistic finance developed. The Middle Ages condemned

Banking

"usury," *i. e.*, the taking of any return payment for the use of loaned money or goods, but when the accumulation of wealth and its use in securing more wealth became familiar, the taking of "interest," *i. e.*, the acceptance of a moderate return payment for the use of loaned money or property, was legalized. It was not until the seventeenth century that England withdrew the condemnation of "usury." Since the greater commercial undertakings of the new times called for much more capital than had been needed in the earlier local trading, many men came to contribute portions of capital to the same enterprise. At first the contributions were for single voyages. It was the English East India Company which first established a permanent joint-stock capital. In their modern form these joint-stock organizations are "corporations." Enterprise and acquisitiveness soon took advantage of these more flexible financial methods to indulge in the first orgy of speculation. Holland led off with the Tulip Craze, France and England followed suit with the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles. The first decades of the eighteenth century were filled with wild speculation in "get-rich-quick" enterprises. The "boom days" had come. The fact that all of these bubbles swelled only to burst, is a bit of history which later generations have not remembered. The Financial Revolution provided the methods by which individual enterprise might indulge its fullest ambitions.

Joint-
Stock Com-
panies

Specu-
lation

This growth in trade stimulated both industry and agriculture. In fact the application of capitalism went forward in all fields of economic activity at the same time. Late in the Middle Ages payments in money replaced, both in England and France, the customary payments in kind or services made by the serfs to the lords. The Black Death, by destroying nearly a third of the population of western Europe, caused such a shortage of labor that the agricultural workers were able to demand and actually to secure the payment of money wages. By the sixteenth century the English and most of the French serfs had become free men. Capitalistic farming, or farming for a profit, first appeared in England. The keeping of the large flocks of sheep which the growing demand for wool made profitable, led to the enclosure of the old manorial fields. The enclosing of common lands, of the lord's lands, and finally those of the agricultural workers, was in full progress by the sixteenth century. Technical advances, such as the application of manures, rotation of crops, including the recently introduced roots and clovers, "horse-hoe" cultivation, and improved animal breeding, made possible the fuller application of capitalism to agriculture. The enclosures in England reached their climax in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus the manorial system was destroyed, and a system of large

The Agra-
rian Revo-
lution

The Cre-
ation of
the
Modern
Wage-
Earning
Class

estates worked for gain by improved methods was established. The agricultural worker lost his bit of land, and with it his economic security, to become a wage-worker for the new masters of capital, landed proprietors, merchants, and manufacturers. The Agrarian Revolution created the dependent free working-class, the "proletariat" of more recent times.

The Industrial Revolution

The Decay of the Gilds

The famous Elizabethan Poor Law was the first constructive attempt to deal with the problems of this class. Capitalism itself had no aid to give until the eighteenth century, when it offered employment at starvation wages in the factories which arose as a result of the invention of labor-saving machines. Long before this, however, capitalism had invaded industry. In the extension of trade the craftsmen lost contact with the market and the merchants came to act as the intermediaries. In this position the merchants with their knowledge of the market were able to exercise personal judgment in the purchase of craft products. This soon reduced the craftsmen to a dependence upon the merchant, which made him the employer of their labor. This practice took form in the "putting out" and "domestic" systems of industry. The merchants "put-out" raw materials to craftsmen, who, in their own homes and with their own tools, worked them into finished products. For their labor the craftsmen received wages. The merchants retained the ownership of the goods. The chief problem in this application of capitalism to industry was to escape the old gild regulations. This was done sometimes by relaxing them but more often by evading them. The favorite method of evasion was to move the workmen into suburbs, country districts, or new cities. Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield secured their first industries in this way. In new or developing industries such as printing, paper and soap making, porcelain manufacture, and mining, capitalism was applied at once.

The Steam Engine

The Factory System

Without any changes in the technique of industry, capitalism slowly broke down the gild system, and when the great technical advances of the Industrial Revolution came, it was ready to give form to the new industrial organization. This revolution began with the invention of machines for making cotton thread and cloth. Among the thousands of inventions which have followed these, the perfecting of the steam engine was the most significant. By driving machines, it revolutionized industrial production. By centralizing the machines about a source of power, it created the modern factory. By its application in the steamboat and railroad the engine quickened transportation, facilitated exchange, and extended the market, thus making possible the disposal of a greater supply of goods. By increasing the demand for raw materials, for the production of both machines and wares, it gave an impulse

to the metal, lumbering, and agricultural industries. In calling for much capital to finance the erection of factories, the building of steamships, and the construction of railroads, it offered investment to the new wealth which Europe had secured. Because the amounts of this capital demanded were great, the way was opened for the rapid development of joint-stock companies. By revolutionizing the processes of production the steam engine opened the entire field of industry to the free play of individual enterprise. Thus the introduction of machinery not only marked the greatest single change in the material culture, but also brought a synthetic functioning of all phases of capitalism to complete the transformation of the medieval into the modern economic order. The English factory owners of the late eighteenth century—Richard Arkwright, Josiah Wedgwood, Robert Peel, Mathew Boulton, and others—mark the advent of the industrial capitalist. The formation of the “Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain” in 1785 to oppose Pitt’s Irish Bill and to work for the ratification of a favorable commercial treaty with France, indicated the rôle which the new capitalists visioned for themselves in practical politics.

**Industrial
Capitalism**

The world, however, still lived with the economic ideas of the Middle Ages, for throughout Europe both gild regulations and feudal restrictions persisted. Furthermore, the new nation-states had erected another system of regulations, known as the mercantile system. The fundamental principle of “mercantilism” was that the state possessing the largest stock of precious metals was the most prosperous and most powerful; hence both trade and industry were regulated so as to bring metal into the country and keep it there. Laws of this character inevitably hampered the free play of economic enterprise, and it required the shock of the French Revolution to sweep them away. Ordinarily the French Revolution is looked upon as being mainly political, but its most important direct achievement was the destruction of old economic regulations. As its impact was felt throughout Europe the whole feudal economic structure fell, and in its place stood triumphant capitalism.

**The Mer-
cantile
System**

**The
French
Revolution**

A new body of economic doctrines furnished the justification for the victor. Reference already has been made to the “natural order” of society. “Political economy,” at present known as “economics,” established the laws which were supposed to govern economic activity in the “natural order.” Man’s motive of action was said to be “self-interest.” The object of his activity was declared to be “gain.” And the one necessary condition for social well-being was asserted to be “economic liberty,” consisting of self-help and free bargaining. If competition could be universal and complete, these theorists thought that social justice and

**Economic
Liberal-
ism or
Laissez
Faire
Economics**

prosperity would be secured. In these assertions may be recognized the psychological roots of capitalism. The first demand of these political economists was for the abolition of all existing economic regulations; their second demand called for the cessation of governmental interference in economic conditions and relations. They assumed the lawful existence of private property and freedom of contract; and in these conditions may be recognized the legal basis of capitalism. Free and unrestricted competition among individuals who were presumed to possess a perfect knowledge of wages and profits at all times and in all places—it was believed—would guarantee justice both for the individual and for society.

**The
Philosophy
of Capitalism**

This doctrinal basis of the capitalist system developed very slowly. The French Physiocrats, headed by Quesnay, attacked the gild and the mercantilist regulations of trade and industry, and showed how wealth circulated in society. Adam Smith attacked the mercantile system and pointed out how wealth was created. Thomas Malthus described how this wealth was distributed among the few rich and the many poor; and found an immutable law to keep it so. David Ricardo, fresh from the stock exchange where he had made a fortune by speculation, explained why wealth was so distributed. There was the "iron law of wages" which eternally condemned the workers to poverty. This body of economic doctrines won a general acceptance and application during the nineteenth century. Economic individualism was the essential element in this "economic liberalism," or this "philosophy of capitalism," as these new doctrines might better be called. In the world of affairs the Industrial Revolution established the ascendancy of capitalism; "economic liberalism" fixed it in the minds of men.

**The Characteristics
of Contemporary
Economic
Organization**

Present economic organization is the product of this development from primitive times. Its outstanding characteristics may be summarized as follows:

**Private
Property**

First, there is the almost universal existence of private property rights in the means of production and distribution, and in articles of consumption. As capitalism undermined the feudal economic structure the more or less joint ownership of land by lords and serfs disappeared. At the same time the revival of Roman law reincorporated the ancient theory of property rights in western civilization. Private property in human beings—slavery—has only recently been abolished. Private property is the fundamental economic institution in western civilization.

Free Competition

Second, free competition between individuals in the pursuit of private gain is assumed to insure economic justice. Free competition between sellers is believed to protect buyers from unfair practices in production and trade; between buyers it is asserted to guarantee an adequate and profitable production. In the

operation of the law of "supply and demand" exploitation is prevented, profits secured, and justice maintained.

Third, great sums of wealth are applied to the production of more wealth. Economists describe how this capital fund originated when the first savage caught two fish in one day, and saved one of them for the next day's meal, while he devoted his time to some other gainful activity. This may be the true origin of the capital fund, but its present bulk can hardly be accounted for by such an ideal thrift. The capital fund of the late Middle Ages grew from money-rents and the profits of small mining operations. It was in the hands of lords and a few townsmen. Profits from oriental trade, from tax collecting, and from gild industry, together with the rise of land value in the growing cities, augmented this original fund. The great bulk of the capital first available for individual enterprise on a large scale came, however, from other sources. Spain's plunder from Mexico and Peru; the Portuguese, Dutch, and English profits in the slave trade; the English and Portuguese gains from the African gold coast; French profits from Santo Domingo sugar plantations; England's loot of India; Holland's wealth from the spice trade; and the English profits from Chinese trade in tea and opium—were the chief elements in the accumulation of the modern capital fund. To these must be added the profits of capitalistic agriculture, the greater gains which industrial capitalism secured by an almost frenzied exploitation of natural resources, and the general rise in land values due to the growth of population. At present insurance premiums and savings-bank deposits are the chief additional sources of capital. The vast amounts of capital employed by corporate enterprises are drawn from many personal savings, and yet the individual retains little or no control over the use of his savings in industry. His private possession remains only in his right to receive profits. Thousands of investors share the financial risks and enjoy the profits of these enterprises. From this point of view the collective ownership of modern industry is a fact.

**A Great
Capital
Fund**

Fourth, credit is universally employed in business dealings. Book credit, bills of exchange, promissory notes, bank notes, and checks are ordinary instruments of payment in buying and selling. Stocks, bonds, mortgages, and loans are common forms of investment. Credit has two supports: first, the confidence of creditors in the promise of future payment; and second, the faith of the people in the government's capacity to redeem its paper money in specie. Metallic money serves as a foundation upon which confidence rears a great credit structure. It has been estimated that 85 per cent of American business is transacted on a credit basis.

Credit

Machinery Fifth, modern industry is mechanical and scientific. The factory system and the machine process constitute the essential means of production.

Large Scale Production Sixth, large-scale enterprise, which involves the employment of large numbers of men and the investment of huge amounts of capital, enormous output, and extensive markets, dominates both industrial production and consumption.

The Division of Labor Seventh, a minute division of labor, which involves the labor of many men, each performing one or only a few of the operations necessary in the production of an article, constitutes the actual process of manufacture. The standardization of mechanical parts which has accompanied this standardization of the movements of the workman has served greatly to increase production. A similar specialization of functions has taken place in distribution and financial organization, so that, all in all, there has been created a great economic coöperation in maintaining life.

The Functioning Economic Groups Eighth, resulting from these differences in economic function there are five economic groups. The owners receive the profits of enterprise. The managers direct economic activity. Engineers, technical experts, and professional men actually operate the economic system. Farmers work the land and supply most of the raw materials of industry. Laborers perform the physical operations of economic activity.

Centralized Control Ninth, within this general economic organization there is a centralized control vested in the hands of the great masters of industrial and banking capital. Often these men serve as directors of several enterprises and thus lock together still larger amounts of wealth. In industry and transportation their control is effective, but it is made much more so in banking by the power to expand or contract credit, the very life blood of modern business. For Americans "Wall Street" symbolizes this centralized control.

Unequal Distribution of Wealth Tenth, all available statistics point to a very unequal distribution of wealth. In England 2 per cent of the population own slightly more than 70 per cent of the nation's wealth, in France about 60 per cent, and in Prussia 59 per cent; while the poorest 65 per cent of the population own only a little more than 1 per cent in England, a little more than 4 per cent in France, and about 5 per cent in Prussia. For the United States the statistics indicate that 2 per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the nation's wealth, 33 per cent own 35 per cent and 65 per cent own only 5 per cent.²

The Insecurity of Labor Eleventh, over against this centralized control and unequal distribution of wealth, there is the corresponding weakness of the

² These statistics can hardly be called scientific, and are certainly not absolutely accurate. They are sufficiently well based, however, to approximate the truth.

laboring masses. The present economic system offers no interest to the laborer other than a wage, *i. e.*, a sum of money paid to him in return for his time and energy. And when this wage is paid the employer feels himself to be released from any further responsibility for the laborer's welfare. To secure this wage, however, the worker must first find employment, which is given at the discretion of the owners and managers of industry, and he must place himself under their orders during the working period. The relationship which exists in large scale industry between the workers and the owners is entirely impersonal. With his wage the laborer must support himself and family, so that his standard of living is largely determined by this income. Unemployment, which on the average takes up 10 per cent of his time, reduces the income, while industrial accident and occupational disease stand as threats to its existence. The employment of women in industry is also an evidence of the insecurity which hovers, ghost-like, over the working-class. Drawn into industry by machinery, poverty, advancing age of marriage, and the desire for economic independence or for careers, their labors often result in the deterioration of their physical strength, low wage rates, low standards of living, bad working conditions, vice, and the disruption of family life. Child labor is a similar evidence of working-class weakness. The children's ability to operate machinery, the cheapness of their labor, and the poverty of their parents lead them to labor in the factories or on the farms, from which they often emerge as adults with broken health, arrested mental development, bad morals, impaired efficiency, and an incapacity for settled family life. Insecurity is the general condition of the worker's life.

Twelfth, modern industrial life is featured by a general unrest which at times breaks forth in violence. The Manly report of the Industrial Relations Commission gives four causes for this discontent: the unjust distribution of wealth and income, unemployment and denial of opportunity to earn a living, denial of justice in the creation, adjudication, and administration of law, and the denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations.³ Still another cause is the growing tendency of labor to question the justice of operating industry for private profit.

Thirteenth, there is a universal movement toward organization along economic lines. Trusts and employers' associations, technical and engineering societies, labor and industrial unions, agricultural leagues and federations, and consumers' societies, seek to advance the interests of their respective groups.

Fourteenth, waste and instability are normal features of present economic organization. H. L. Gantt, former Vice-president of the

**Economic
Unrest**

**Organized
Economic
Groups**

**Instability
and
Waste**

³ *Final Report of the Industrial Relations Commission, 1915, p. 29.*

American Association of Mechanical Engineers, has said that our industrial equipment was producing at only 25 per cent of its maximum capacity in 1918. No other estimate of the waste in industry is available, but it is agreed that the amount is not small. According to the report of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the American Engineering Societies, waste arises from irregular employment, inefficient management, and faulty labor regulations. Fifty per cent of it is ascribed to inefficient management and 25 per cent to labor. Instability appears in the periodic crises. These panics which bring business failures, cessation of production, unemployment, and general economic distress, arise from diverse causes. Speculation, sudden drops in prices due to overproduction or a curtailed demand, the disappearance of confidence in the credit structure, and enforced deflation have contributed to make panics recurring events in business history. The years 1837, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907 and 1920 mark such crises in American economic development.

**Successful
Support of
Human
Life**

Fifteenth, modern industry serves its function, that of supporting human life, better than any other previous form of economic organization. The present laboring class receives more for its work than did any of its predecessors under slavery, serfdom, or the early wage system. Housing conditions are better, food supply is more secure, and leisure is more equally shared. In fact, this general improvement in the workers' lot is one of the great historical developments of modern times.

**Wealth,
the Measure
of
Success**

Sixteenth, the measure of success in life is determined by the acquisition of a position of control and wealth. Success in business is indicative of the right to political power and social prestige.

The economic organization described by these several general attributes absorbs the energies and abilities of most living men, and is the dominant element in the present social heritage.

**The
Economic
Structure
of American
Life**

In America more than in any other country this economic system has had an opportunity to mature. It has already been noted that the discovery of the New World was incidental to the commercial expansion which gave the greatest impetus to the development of capitalism. If economic enterprise in Europe was stimulated by this expansion, certainly those who risked everything to find a home or to acquire wealth in the New World were not the least affected by these new forces. Once here, these economic individualists found themselves living a frontier life which intensified their self-reliance and enterprise. Thus America became the land *par excellence* of economic individualism. In Europe the weight of traditional culture was and still is against capitalism; in America capitalism has itself become an element in the national tradition.

**Supreme
Economic
Individualism**

The economic history of the colonies and the United States from the founding to the present—from Sir Humphrey Gilbert to A. B. Fall—can be epitomized very nearly in one word, appropriation. In the course of three centuries the continent and its wealth in timber and minerals has been staked out and claimed. Incidental to the success of the enterprisers was the quarrel with the mother country which sought to regulate their commerce and to restrict them in the acquisition of lands. The colonial victory gave a free title over the eastern Mississippi Valley; and immediately the westward movement began in earnest. In fifty years the boundaries of the new nation had been carried to the Rio Grande and the Pacific. In the meantime industrial capitalism had taken root in the North, and when the free farmers and new capitalists claimed the great West as their own for exploitation, the Southerners took refuge in their constitutional rights. Modern industrial and agricultural capitalism waged war against the original type of capitalism, well known to ancient Rome—a slave-supported master class. The national phase of the Civil War made the South appear in the wrong, but this should not obscure the fact that in its economic phase the struggle was an aggression on the part of industrial capitalism to gain the nation and its resources for its own. It was inevitable, then, that a Northern victory should be followed by industrial expansion. One needs only to recall Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Andrew Carnegie, James J. Hill, John D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, John Wanamaker, Marcus A. Hanna, F. W. Woolworth, J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry Ford, and Thomas A. Edison, to describe the expansion. Indeed, a person not familiar with these names would still observe signs of this development on every hand. About him are railroads, ten cent stores, gas stations, packing houses, steel mills, tenements, and libraries. In the streets he dodges automobiles and street cars. Nights are made brilliant by electricity, and his eyes are made weary by moving pictures. His ears are filled with a din—agitators and Kiwanis club orators, the furor of strikes and lockouts, the shots of gunmen, the solemn warnings of judges, the jargon of foreign tongues, the loud complaint of distressed farmers—and the poohing, puffing platitudes of politicians. The surface elements of contemporary life are made from cultural departures brought by this economic revolution.

With such economic individualism and capitalism traditional in the American social heritage it is not surprising that full rights in private property prevail. Under the present economic and legal system an individual may acquire full legal title to the earth, and indeed if he chooses, may exclude all others from his possession. Above all, corporations have been made more secure in these property rights in the United States than in any other country.

A Dominant Capitalism

Private Property Rights and Corporations

The decision in the Dartmouth College case (1819) declared that a charter once granted to a corporation by a state is a contract, and therefore cannot be altered without the consent of those who hold it, unless the power of revision has been specifically retained by the state. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution (1868) provides that no state shall deprive "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Soon after its ratification judicial decisions defined the corporation as a "legal person," and interpreted "due process of law" in such a way as to establish the courts' final power over cases arising under the clause. The cumulative effect of these legal developments was to make property "free from all interference except such as might be allowed by the Supreme Court (or rather five judges of that Court) appointed by the President and the Senate, thus removed as far as possible from the pressure of public sentiment."⁴ The present system of private property rights cannot be revised except by constitutional amendment.

Labor,
the Crea-
tor of
Wealth

If enterprise sought wealth, and law guaranteed its possession, labor, since the first source of wealth is the application of labor to land, was necessary before wealth could be secured. The continent with its virgin forests, untilled soils, and unworked deposits furnished the raw materials. The American people, as they grew in numbers from decade to decade, gave the labor that appropriated these natural resources for the use of man. The present production and distribution system which carries on the exploitation of these resources was created by the labor of these people. In 1920 some forty million people worked in the fields, factories, mines, forests, stores, and on the railroads of the nation. The following table⁵ indicates their distribution in the several functioning groups:

Farm laborers	4,178,637
Farmers	6,463,708
Proprietors and officials	3,168,418
Professional	2,760,190
Lower salaried	3,985,306
Servants	1,270,946
Industrial Wage-earners	17,638,072
Unclassified	2,138,971

The growth of industrial capitalism is evident in a steady increase of the proprietary and the wage-earning groups. In 1870 the former were 4.6 per cent of the total population gainfully employed, while the latter were 26.6 per cent. In 1920 the former were 7.6 per cent and the latter 42.4 per cent. Figures for 1910 in-

⁴ C. A. Beard, *Contemporary American History*, p. 86.

⁵ Alvin H. Hansen, "Industrial Class Alignments in the United States," *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, Dec., 1922, p. 80.

dicate that the property-owning class contains about 38 per cent of the gainfully employed of the country, and the urban and rural working class contains about 56 per cent.

Although it is the labor actually performed by these living millions which sustains the nation, they work by and with the "produced means of production," the equipment on farms and in factories, buildings, railroads and the like, all of which constitute "capital." In 1910 the capital actively engaged in production was valued at \$47,965,000,000, a sum corresponding to an investment of \$521 for each wage-earner. No later estimates are available, but the total is very much greater today. More important than its amount, however, is its administration. The entrepreneur, who in concrete American life is the "business man," holds his commanding position in the economic and general society by the ownership and command of capital. In 1920 it was estimated that there were 9,758,000 entrepreneurs in the country.⁶ Of these, some 6,448,000 were agriculturalists—holders of bits of capital—who in their dependence upon banking power and markets received little or no advantage from their possession. America's traditional economic unit may be the farmer, but the typical entrepreneur is the industrial capitalist. This same estimate, made in 1922, classified the entrepreneurs as follows:

Capital
and
Economic
Power

Mining	26,000
Laundry	37,000
Construction	120,000
Hand trades	263,000
Factory	242,000
Transportation	28,000
Banking	4,000

Unclassified industries absorbed the remaining 2,590,000. America's "captains of industry" are few in number, but they dominate the economic life of the nation. The following table ⁷ shows the organization of the manufacturing industries for 1919 and 1914:

	1919	1914	Percentage of increase
Number of establishments	290,105	275,791	5.2
Proprietors and firm members	269,137	262,599	2.5
Salaried employees	1,447,227	964,217	50.1
Wage-earners	9,096,372	7,036,247	29.3
Capital	\$44,466,593,771	\$22,790,979,937	95.1
Value of products	\$62,418,078,773	\$24,246,434,724	157.7

⁶ National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 33.

⁷ United States Fourteenth Census. Vol. VIII. p. 14.

The number of firm members and proprietors is extremely small in comparison with the number of salaried employees and wage-earners. Furthermore, the proprietors have increased in number much more slowly than the other groups. The great increase in capital likewise indicates further concentration of economic power. The place of the corporation within this organization also demonstrates the weakness of the individual capitalist as an economic factor in business organization. Another table^s exhibits this situation in the manufacturing industries:

	Individuals	Corporations	All others
Number of establishments	138,112	91,517	60,476
Number of wage-earners	623,469	7,857,132	597,771
Value of products	\$3,536,321,836	\$54,744,392,855	\$4,137,364,082

**Economic
Concentra-
tion**

By far the greatest amount of capital, the largest number of wage-earners, and the most considerable volume of business are controlled by corporations. The nature of corporate organization makes possible an easy concentration of power and coördination of business policy. In 1913 it was found that one man, as a voting trustee, as an executive committeeman, and as a director, had an influence in 22 corporations with a capitalization of more than seven billion dollars, and that one banking firm held 841 directorships in 112 corporations which had a combined capitalization of more than twenty-two billions of dollars. At the present time 15 great New York banks are bound together by having 125 directorships held in common by 56 individuals. Twelve of these banks, in turn, hold 267 directorships in the 92 leading railroads, and 56 directorships in the leading concerns manufacturing railroad equipment.

In a sense the supreme sovereignty of the economic world is held by the "investment bankers." As a banking operative he collects the small savings of thousands into large aggregates of capital, which he holds available for investment in large scale enterprises. He is the master of credit. Thus there are established in his hands the supply of and the control of capital. Since the World War the great New York banking firms have found financial opportunities in the distresses of both the victors and the vanquished. The result is that, not only is their position more commanding than ever at home, but it is also being rapidly exalted abroad. The power of American capital has become world-wide.

By dependency labor is bound in service to capital; by wealth and honors, knowledge has been made its obedient servant. The

^s United States Fourteenth Census. Vol. VIII. p.

growth of the salaried class means that technical and special knowledge is becoming more and more a factor in economic organization. It is the fourth factor in production. In the main this knowledge consists of practices and formulæ which have been devised or discovered by inventors, investigators, and workers. It is part of the common social heritage. Since the inventions which ushered in the Industrial Revolution, the accumulation of this technical knowledge has gone on apace. The application of chemistry to industry brought a revolution by itself. The making of steel, rubber goods, dyes, perfumes, explosives, and artificial ice are a few of the many industries calling for the chemist. The present electrical industry is said to owe some thirty billion dollars of its wealth to Michael Faraday. From the making of the highest grade steel to the mixing of soft drinks the use of scientific knowledge is necessary. The technical expert is as important as the capitalist or the laborer to modern industry.

**Knowl-
edge, the
Fourth
Factor in
Produc-
tion**

With the union and integration of these factors in production, America's developing economic life has been marked with the creation of increasing masses of wealth. From the point of view of society, wealth consists of the total stock of goods with which it can serve life. The value of the land, the entire equipment of all the industries, public works, and commodities by which the people live from year to year, make up the wealth of the United States. A recent report by the Census Bureau has placed the total wealth of the country for the year 1922 at the stupendous figure \$320,863,862,000, a gain of 72.2 per cent in a decade. In the same period the per capita wealth increased approximately 50 per cent, approaching the sum of \$3,000. There are no figures to indicate the present distribution of ownership. This much appears to be true: the laboring population has not received its proper share of the increase.

**The
National
Wealth**

More important than the amount of wealth is the income which flows from it. Income may be said to include all objects and services which one receives as satisfactions to needs and wants. Real income and money income are, therefore, two different things. The former is the sum total of all satisfactions, including even the pleasure of the dance; the latter is the amount of money which is received by the individual. Ordinarily incomes are estimated for a yearly period. Money income must always be transferred into real income, and as prices fluctuate the relation of the money income to final satisfactions varies. With low prices and a fixed income, real income is steady and reasonably high; with advancing prices real income immediately begins to decline. It is an axiom of economics that wages follow prices, *i. e.*, when prices advance

**The
National
Income

Real In-
come and
Money In-
come**

Distribu-
tion of
Incomes

wages follow more slowly, and when prices decline, wages also decline but not so rapidly. Every shift in profits, salaries, and wages alters the money income, and as the relation to the price level changes, the real income is modified. Therefore in the present economic régime, in which the first objective of economic activity is "gain," the problem of securing a steady real income is a difficult one; in fact, there is no solution to it. Social workers recognize the existence of a "poverty line," meaning thereby a money income which is not quite adequate to provide the barest satisfaction to creature needs. Families in American cities having incomes of \$1,000 or \$1,100 a year are at this level. Present incomes from \$1,100 to \$1,400 a year are said to be on the "subsistence" level; they provide a bare satisfaction to creature needs but leave no surplus for emergencies, social pleasures, or provision for old age. From these facts the real significance of the national income is seen to lie, not in its amount, but in its distribution. The following table shows the mass divisions of the national income in 1919:⁹

	Incomes under \$2,000	Incomes over \$2,000
Numbers of persons receiving	33,913,000	5,608,000
Amount of income received	\$39,500,000,000	\$25,300,000,000
Per cent of total persons having	86%	14%
Per cent of national income received by persons having	61%	39%

The highest 5 per cent of income receivers had 15½ per cent of the total money income of the nation. In 1918 those having incomes above \$8,000, one per cent of the total number, received 14 per cent of the national income. In the same year 80 per cent of the incomes of American families were below \$1,700, and 90 per cent below \$2,500.

Expendi-
ture of
the
Money
Income

Real income is secured, of course, only by the expenditure of the money income for consumption goods. For the masses the simple needs and wants determine the disposal of their earnings. It has been estimated that at the prices current in 1922 the average family receiving an income near the "subsistence" level would distribute its money income in the following expenditures:¹⁰

⁹ National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*, Vol. II, Chapter 26, pp. 331-332.

¹⁰ P. H. Douglas and others, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society*, pp. 285-286.

Article	Amount	Percentage of total income
Food	\$550 (\$10 to \$11 a week)	35
Clothing	\$290 (\$80, man; \$75, woman; \$55, \$45, \$35, children)	18
Housing	\$324 (\$20 to \$25 a month)	20
Fuel and light	\$85	5
All others	\$350	22

Above this level the amount spent for sundries tends to increase in proportion to that spent for food. The great majority of the American people—the 86 per cent with incomes below \$2,000 a year—live on what may be known as the “comfort level.” After satisfying the immediate needs of life they have about 25 per cent of their income left to secure those more pleasant gratifications necessary to a “decent living.” Ostentation and luxury are for the few.

Satisfactions are secured only by consumption. When men have too few commodities, there is suffering; when they have too many, there is intemperance and vice. Social distress always exists as a result of under or over consumption. Furthermore all wealth and value appear in consumption. Labor may create a commodity from raw materials, and capital and knowledge may facilitate the work of labor, but unless the article can and will be consumed by men it will have no value. It is the needs and wants of America's living millions which drive the economic system and give values to the national wealth and income. The satisfactions of these same needs and wants represents the real income of the nation. Consumption is the final determinant of value and of a subsequent material well-being.

Under modern economic organization every article may be said to have two values, the consumption and the exchange values. Consumption value or utility is established by an article's capacity to satisfy needs and wants. Utility varies, therefore, with the intensity of human desires. Mr. Jiggs will pay much for his beloved “corned beef and cabbage,” while others of more delicate tastes abhor the savory dish. Exchange value represents an article's power to command other articles in trade. It is established by utility and scarcity. An article great in utility and at the same time scarce, will have a high exchange value; on the other hand, one that is plentiful and high in utility will have a low exchange value. When trade was merely barter, exchange value was directly evident in terms of other articles, but with the invention and use of money it came to be expressed as a “price.” As the division

The Relation of Consumption to Economic Organization

Material Well-being Dependent upon Consumption

Consumption Establishes Value, Utility, and Price

of labor became more minute, trade grew. At present, therefore, the satisfaction of needs and wants is involved in the complex processes of exchange.

**Consump-
tion and
Economic
Maladjust-
ment**

Today between consumption and the articles which satisfy human needs and wants stand both the uncertainty of money incomes and the fluctuation of exchange values. With shoes at \$8 a pair and corn at \$1 a bushel, one bushel of corn will buy one-eighth of a pair of shoes. Their exchange value may be said to be one to eight. If the price of either article changes, there is an alteration in this proportion. In 1920 when corn dropped to 20 cents a bushel and shoes remained close to their former price, the relation was modified to something like forty to one. The effect of this shifting of exchange values on both production and consumption can be readily seen. Undoubtedly the farmers' desire for \$8 shoes remained as keen as ever, but their labor on corn-producing land yielded such low money incomes that they could not secure satisfaction for even more pressing wants. As a result they wore their old shoes longer and replaced them with cheaper ones: the effective demand for shoes was weakened. Obviously shoe production declined, for without effective demand there were few sales, without sales there were no profits, and without profits there could be no continued production. The owners of capital invested in the shoe industry were forced to take losses. Laborers were dismissed from their jobs, to suffer such deprivations as the cessation of earnings caused. (It is not true that the owners of capital assume all the risks of industry, because the laborers have their very lives at stake in the enterprises which employ them.) Lower profits to capital and decreased earnings by labor cut off the demand for many other articles. Such conditions led to a general decline in production. Consumption decreased, profits declined, and human needs and wants did not receive the satisfactions to which they were accustomed. The whole economic system faltered in its functioning. The business depression and social distress of 1921-22 arose from conditions similar to those described in the shifting of the exchange values of corn and shoes. The general decline in prices for agricultural products which followed the disappearance of the war time demands reacted disastrously upon the whole economic system. All social and physical conditions which affect human needs and wants, disturb production, or alter prices, work themselves out, first in a general derangement of economic organization, and second in consumption which is the concrete satisfaction of human desires.

According to orthodox economic theory, such disturbed economic situations are entirely natural, beyond the power of human control, and automatically readjusting. In this readjustment capital is

diverted from unprofitable enterprises, and seeks gain in new projects. This new investment offers jobs to unemployed workers, the increased profits and wage-earnings augment incomes, which makes possible a more complete satisfaction of needs and wants. Thus increased consumption means a larger effective demand, a demand which calls forth new production. As the newly created commodities are absorbed by the newly aroused demand, profits are increased, and again there is business prosperity and general well-being. Such perfect theoretical conditions, however, do not exist in the day-by-day lives of men, for the adjustment is never without the friction of social distress and political unrest. As a matter of fact, the economic balance is maintained only at the cost of general disturbances in the lives of men.

Consumption and Economic Readjustment

The determining factor in the adjustment, it will be noted, is gain to capital. Profits are made by selling articles above the cost of production, or above the price paid for them by the owner. Sales are a continuous necessity to a profitable enterprise. All possible measures, therefore, are used to stimulate the effective demand. Advertising exists for the sole purpose of arousing human desires. Copywriters, press agents, artists, psychologists, window dressers, models, and salesmen conduct a general conspiracy with the object of intriguing desire and creating wants. Present business methods attempt to shape men's lives so that they will yield a profit. The modern world makes no studied effort to provide an adequate and balanced satisfaction for human needs, but rather it attempts to excite wants and to develop cravings in order that in satisfying them profits may be secured. The present exploitation is not one of laborers alone, but is one of all persons, men and women, rich and poor, young and old alike, and does not result so much in actual want as it does in intemperate consumption. The latter evil is as prevalent as poverty and, indeed, much more evident. Dire need is allowed to exist if profits are not to be made in satisfying wants; even vice is condoned when there are profits to be made. Man's powers of consumption are twisted to serve business, when, indeed, business should be organized to minister to his actual needs and wants. In the quest for gain men have forgotten the final service of economic activity—that of satisfying human needs.

The Stimulation of Consumption is the Surest Means to Greater Profits

If one views the economic elements of the social heritage as an operating mechanism for the sustenance of life, the complexity of present economic organization is apparent. Consumption furnishes the demand which drives the productive and distributive processes. Consumption is still, as it was for the savage who ate the first fruit of the tree, an individual act; but the latter processes are intricate and complicated. The number and variety of modern

The Social Significance of Modern Economic Organization

Economic
Interde-
pendence
of All
Men

man's wants make him dependent upon other men in all parts of the world, and the dependence is enhanced by geographical specialization in production and by the minute division of labor. One man lives by all men's labor. He sustains his life by doing his part in sustaining others. "Mutual aid," which is one factor in social evolution, has as a result of modern economic developments become world-wide and universal. In this economic interdependence of men exists the basis for coöperation in other fields of human activity.

The
Indus-
trial
Problem

Modern economic organization not only binds men together in mutual services to their needs and wants, but also creates a sharp line of social cleavage between the owners and masters of capital and the property-less working millions. The former hold the greater portion of wealth, and exercise the centralized control which governs the economic system. The latter must rely upon the former for the employment which furnishes their only money income, and thus they are actually dependent upon the masters and owners for life. The fact that chattel slavery has been abolished does not obliterate the historic division of the social classes. Indeed the property-less classes today have lost the security which serfdom with its bondage to the land gave to their ancestors, because the modern employer is not, as was the slave owner, responsible for the keep of his employees. The truth is that slavery disappeared only when free labor promised more profits to employers. The modern employer's legal responsibility to his employees ends with the cash payment of their wages; furthermore, he can dismiss them from his service at his pleasure. Economic liberty, as developed in early modern times, has meant power to the great owners of wealth and capital, and to the laborer it has often meant low wages, unemployment, unhealthy working conditions, poverty, and social inferiority. The historic division of the classes between powerful masters and dependent workers remains a vital factor in modern life. The age-old social struggle of these classes, evident in the Jewish flight from Egypt, the plebeian revolts in Rome, and the peasant risings of the Middle Ages, is in contemporary life the "industrial problem," the conflict between Capital and Labor. It is a sad fact that an economic system which holds men in mutual services leaves them divided into contending classes.

The
Issues
of the
Indus-
trial
Problem

Man's chief economic problem is no longer that of winning a bare sustenance from a hostile environment. Recent technical triumphs seem to assure him of plenty; indeed, the modern era is the first to suffer the disastrous results of "economic overproduction." From another point of view this superabundance becomes "underconsumption," and the two contrasting views reveal the issues of

the industrial problem, those contentions arising over the distribution of the fruits of enterprise and labor. The lion's share of the wealth appropriated and created in modern times has gone to the few. This, however, has not prevented the many from receiving a greater portion than they received under any antecedent of capitalism. Moreover, cultural changes in government and education have served to raise the masses to a higher level of well-being. It is not the degradation of the masses that gives insistence to their demands; rather it is their improved lot. They have tasted the sweets of plenty, they have acquired some learning, they have been granted the forms of power; as a result they have caught a vision of a social order in which they may be secure to lead free and full lives, to express their own original natures without the thwarting distresses of want and dependency. The existence of the industrial problem indicates a maladaptation between life and the two elements of its environment, physical nature and the social heritage. Man's original nature remains unchanged, and machinery has made the wresting of sustenance from the earth less difficult than ever before. Evidently, then, the bases of the present problem must exist to a large extent in the immaterial portion of the social heritage, in those traditions, customs, laws, and ideas which govern economic activity. In these practices and ideas the industrial problem may be considered as three related questions. First, what ought to be the conditions of employment, the hours of labor, and the rates of pay? Second, who shall control economic activity: those who own property or those who labor? And third, what purpose shall economic activity serve: the creation of profits or the promotion of social welfare? These issues in varying forms present themselves in every industrial dispute, social movement, or political crisis of present times.

America affords abundant evidence of the critical nature of the industrial problem. The traditional supremacy of capitalism has served to weaken the protagonists of economic change, but to see the problem in its most ugly phases one needs only to recall Ludlow, Colorado, and Herrin, Illinois, and the coal country of West Virginia. Furthermore, American life is replete with organized interests engaged in the struggle for economic power.

Those first British industrial capitalists who organized to influence the English government marked the path that all subsequent capitalists were to follow. When political parties must raise campaign funds of several millions, their services must be available to the possessors of wealth. The United States Potters' Association, the Stone Founders' National Defense Association, and the National Grain Dealers' Association are examples of the organization of special trades and business interests. The National Manu-

**The
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trial
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in Amer-
ica**

**Organized
Capital**

Aims

facturers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce of the American Chambers of Commerce are larger associations coördinating these smaller groups. To these should be added the nationwide web of clubs, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, Gyro, and the like, which serve as morale builders to class-conscious business men. The policy of Capital is essentially defensive. From Capital's point of view Labor must be prevented from establishing a control over working conditions, rates of payment, and management, and Agriculture must not be allowed to secure a control over the marketing of its products. At all costs a union of the two—laborers and farmers—must be prevented. Government interference in business by legislative regulation of working conditions and wages, government control of management, or actual government ownership, must be opposed and defeated.

In this defense the tactics of Capital are as diverse as the situations it is called upon to meet, but its "Hindenburg Line" is the continual reiteration of the advantages of the present economic system. The assertion that with the placing of any limitations upon the rights of private property and profit, civilization will disintegrate; the declaration that the present system serves its function better than any other system possible; the insistence that economic injustice does not exist, and that each individual secures what he is entitled to receive—constitute the chief points of the argument. In this recitation of the virtues of the present order, wealth and power enable Capital to exert an influence over education and the channels of publicity so as largely to prevent any general questioning of its assertions. Finally, the lethargy of the average mind, the forces of custom and convention, the feeling that "whatever is, is right," the sanction of tradition, and the instinctive fear of change which comes with the appearance of the new and the strange, form a natural protection for the present owners and managers of industry.

Organized Labor

At the bare outworks of this defense are "organized labor" and "organized" agriculture. The former is as old as organized capital, but until recent years it has been weak. The American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Mine Workers of the World, and the Industrial Workers of the World, claim more than five million members. These organizations have neither the cohesion nor the morale of the business interests, and they are not agreed on tactics or policy. In general they aim to unionize all laborers and to find in collective strength a counter-weight to the power of Capital. As an individual the laborer cannot bargain on equal terms with the employer. His dependence upon wages for a money income often compels him to accept such conditions of labor and rates of pay as the latter

offers. By "collective bargaining," *i. e.*, unions bargaining by chosen representatives, Labor is able to meet Capital on more nearly equal terms. The corollary of "collective bargaining" is the "strike," or the unions' refusal to work under the terms offered by employers. The A. F. of L. is conservative, and seeks to improve working conditions, to raise wages, and to secure protective legislation. Its chief offensive instrument is the "strike." The Railroad Brotherhoods are more assertive. They desire a participation in railroad management and seem willing to support Labor's political action. The I. W. W. seeks nothing more nor less than workers' ownership and control of industry. Its aim is to join all workers in "one big union," and then to seize the economic system by direct action: to take it by force. This radical element among laboring men is more noisy than numerous.

At various times the agriculturalists of the United States have endeavored to improve their economic position. A glance at the table showing the number of "entrepreneurs" indicates the essential difficulty in these efforts. The American farmer is an extreme individualist, something of a capitalist and also a laborer. He has never appreciated the position of Labor, but at the same time he has discovered that his interests are not those of organized Capital. "Big Business," as he calls it, dominates him by the control of credit and markets. The recent depression in the agricultural regions has aroused the farmers to a new consciousness of their economic dependence, warmed great numbers of them to a friendliness for Labor, and heated far greater numbers of them to a hostility against "Big Business." The "farmer amuck" has always been a danger to established political power, and the most evident manifestation of his new activity has been the "agricultural bloc" in the United States Senate. Politics, however, has not been alone in the farmer's mind; he has organized as never before. The Grange, the Farmers' Union, and the American Farm Bureau Federation are organizations national in scope. The National Milk Producers' Association, the California Fruit Growers' Association, and the Southern Cotton Growers' Association are a few of the successful organizations representing special agricultural interests. The general aim of the present agricultural movement is to give the farmer a control over the marketing of his products, with a view to "stabilizing the market" so that he can be certain of a reasonable return for his labor. He feels that bankers and middlemen are profiting at his expense. Coöperation in buying and selling is the chief method of winning independence from these whom the farmer believes are his exploiters. Furthermore, the farmer has shown some interest in independent political action. This, with his increasing friendliness toward Labor, probably

Organized
Agricul-
ture

means the further projection of issues arising from the industrial problem into the political life of the nation.

**Proposed
Solutions
of the
Indus-
trial
Problem**

In view of such a possibility it is well to recall the fundamental factors in economic organization and to take some notice of the various projects for economic reform. The economic order of society rests upon four factors: man's original nature, the natural resources, the technical means of production and distribution, and the ideas which are believed to control economic activity. Of the four, the last two are subject to change by man, and in them may be found the possibilities of further economic development. The present economic organization is the result of age-long growth, but its chief characteristics—money and credit, machinery, capital, and competition—are the results of alterations in the medieval economic system. Modern times have witnessed these economic changes, and further economic development will proceed by similar alterations. The continued application of machinery and science to industry will necessarily promote change. The existence of the industrial problem is evidence of defects in the present economic organization, and yet upon no other problem has modern man expended so much mental energy. As a result of his thinking, five different lines of action have been proposed as means of removing these defects: owners' and managers' reforms, governmental action, individuals' coöperation, working-class revolution, and church programs of reform.

**The
Continu-
ity of
Economic
Develop-
ment**

As these developing ideas unite with newer means of production and distribution, the present economic organization may be transformed. Not by governments, nor by strikes, nor by revolutions, but only by general social and cultural growth will the future economic organization be developed.

**Reforms
Under-
taken by
Employ-
ers**

It must not be understood that the owners and managers in the present economic organization are blind to its defects, or to the justice of many of the working-class demands. Indeed, they have, through the past century, built up a nearly complete scheme of economic reform. Robert Owen, with his model factory at New Lanark, Scotland, was the forerunner of this later movement. At present it consists of measures which meet many of the demands of Labor. The newer industrial plants are designed to secure the best possible working conditions. Ventilating systems, lighting arrangements, sanitary fixtures, eating accommodations, and medical service are standard equipment. A general program of welfare work is complementary to these measures. Education in the form of lectures, special classes, and libraries, is provided. Playgrounds, gymnasiums, dance halls, and entertainments give recreational opportunities. By profit-sharing a more equitable division of the gains is made. It is a direct recognition of Labor's

**Welfare
Work**

**Profit
Sharing**

coöperation in the success of industry. The bonus is a reward to labor for special effort. These amounts add to the wage income. Some concerns distribute dividend-paying stock to their employees, thus giving them an owner's interest in the enterprise. The industrial efficiency movement is an attempt to increase production by the elimination of waste. Since increased production is the only method of adding to the supply of economic goods by which man's actual needs and wants are satisfied, this movement may in effect aid the working class.

Finally, the more progressive employers are admitting Labor into the field of management. The shop committee, composed of elected representatives of employees, has been devised to restore the personal contact now lacking between labor and management. These committees present grievances and make suggestions as to working conditions and plant operation. By the Goodyear Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, employees have been granted a voice in the direction of industrial policy. Many of America's great industrial enterprises have adopted this program either in whole or in part. The National Cash Register Company and Proctor & Gamble, the makers of Ivory Soap, have model plants and most complete welfare programs. The Henry Ford management is famous for its wage-profit-sharing-bonus system of remuneration. Several thousand employees of the Swift Packing Company own stock in the concern. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company inaugurated the procedure which under the example of English practice and the work of the War Labor Board developed into the shop committee movement.

**Labor
Participa-
tion in
Manage-
ment**

The one obstacle which prevents this program from bringing industrial peace is the feeling on the part of Labor that it should control its own life, rather than receive as a gift from Capital a social welfare program which, because it was given by the owner, might also be taken away by him. Moreover, this program does not answer the question, "Who shall control industry?" It leaves the present owners and managers in the position of control, and the more advanced Labor group, rightly or wrongly, seeks "economic democracy," *i. e.*, the right of all workers to participate in the regulation and control of economic life. As a result, reforms offering no satisfaction of this very human desire, the right to order one's own life, are not acceptable to Labor as a final solution.

**Labor's
Criti-
cisms of
Employ-
ers'
Measures
of Reform**

All modern governments have been forced to participate in the industrial struggle. As a result there has developed the idea that the final solution of the problem may be best secured by political action. Four types of action have been undertaken by various governments: social legislation, special taxation, compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, and "nationalization" or government ownership of industry. Social legislation includes laws pro-

**Political
Interven-
tion in
Economic
Organiza-
tion**

**Social
Insurance**

viding for factory inspection, regulation of child and female labor, and limitations of the hours of labor. It culminates in an attempt to give the wage-earner a "security" by a program of "social insurance." Sickness, accident, and unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, minimum wages, mothers' and old-age pensions, are the usual elements of this program. Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, adopted a very complete system of social insurance. Lloyd George rose to power in England by advocating such measures. In the United States, all but six states, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, had some form of workmen's compensation in 1920. Since 1912, thirteen states have enacted minimum wage laws for women. The critics of these measures insist that by their guarantee of "security" to the workers they deaden the individual initiative upon which all genuine welfare must ultimately depend, and therefore defeat the purpose for which they are enacted. Their supporters believe that Labor should be relieved from suffering due to mistakes in judgment made by managers of industry, and further, that a function of the state is to secure the general welfare. The United States is far behind many European countries in the adoption of such proposals.

Taxation

The second form of government action consists of new types of taxation. The most radical of these is "the single tax" as proposed by Henry George in his book *Progress and Poverty*. According to its supporters, this tax would secure complete economic and social justice. It proposes to appropriate for the state all rents upon lands arising from increases in land values not due to the owner's improvement and use of his property. It seeks to prevent speculation in land, to bring unused land under the plow, and to decrease the cost of housing. The single tax aims to relieve both Capital and Labor of their tax burden, placing it all upon the owners of land and national resources. The "inheritance tax" is a similar effort aiming to secure economic justice. It would appropriate for governmental use the greater part of all estates upon the death of the owner. It aims to prevent the accumulation of large fortunes in the hands of second and third generations who themselves have done nothing to build up the fortunes. By cutting off such inheritances it is argued that opportunities would be equalized, and the distribution of wealth made more equitable. The income tax also aims to promote economic justice by placing the burden of taxation upon the rich. In operation the tax is not entirely ineffectual in this respect.

**Compul-
sory Arbi-
tration of
Labor
Disputes**

A third line of governmental action is the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. Such disputes involve the cessation of production and quite often lead the participants to resort to violence.

In both cases society suffers losses. The aim of such compulsory arbitration is to bring both Capital and Labor under the restraint of law. By preventing the cessation of production, it is argued that all members of society would gain; by preventing violence, the more dangerous effects of industrial disputes would be avoided. The idea originated in Australia. Organized Labor, because it believes that Capital dominates all governmental action, is much opposed to its adoption.

The fourth form of political action is known as government ownership or nationalization. It involves actual government ownership of land and capital goods, government management of production and distribution, and government employment of labor. With measures that provide social insurance, it becomes what is known as "state socialism." The first definite movement in this direction began in the late eighteenth century with the taking of postal service from private hands. In the nineteenth century European cities in their ownership and operation of traction, gas, water, and lighting systems, applied the idea in an effective manner. Today in various parts of the world governments own and operate railroads, steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones, mines, factories of all kinds, banks, and insurance companies. The Research Bureau of the Fabian Society, an organization for the education of the English people in matters of social importance, reported that in 1915 the various governments of Europe, South America, United States, Japan, and their dependencies possessed property, excluding military and naval equipment, to the value of fifty billion dollars, employed between ten and twelve million workers, and paid out wages amounting to nearly two and one-half billions each year. The World War brought a general, but temporary, "nationalization" of production and distribution systems. The United States, however, has never attempted actual government ownership and management of industry. The war-time Food, Fuel, and Railroad Administrations were merely government supervision of private industry. The more ardent advocates of government ownership would place the entire economic system under the control of the state. The advantages of nationalization are given as being the prevention of exploitation of labor and the public, the elimination of the waste due to competition, a steadier supply of commodities, security to the wage-earner, and industrial peace. Its disadvantages arise from the difficulties of politics. The notorious corruption, inefficiency, and ineptitude of current politics do not promise a sound administration of industry. The growth of better government would therefore seem to be the first prerequisite to any comprehensive program of nationalization.

**Government
Ownership of
Industry**

**Consum-
ers' Co-
operation**

While the employers' program of reform is based on their own self-interest, and politico-economic reform rests upon the power of compulsion held by the state, coöperation, the third of the movements toward a new economic order, relies upon the recognition by the individual of the fact that his economic interests are identical with those of other men. Agnes Warbasse, who writes for the Coöperative League of America, defines coöperation as "an organized effort of the people, free from politics, to control the distribution and production of things needed to satisfy their wants." In such an enterprise any individual may take part. He must become a member or a shareholder, but no matter how large his contribution or purchase of stock may be he has only one vote in the management. Furthermore, profits are divided, not according to the amount of money invested, but on the basis of actual business done by each individual. The return on the invested capital is fixed at a low rate, usually 10 per cent. Surplus savings may be returned to the enterprise, or paid out to patrons as "saving dividends." It is evident that the existence and success of such an undertaking depends upon the recognition by its members of their mutual interests.

**Produc-
ers' Co-
operation**

The modern coöperative movement dates from 1844, when twenty-three discontented English workmen founded the Rochdale Co-operative Store. Today the British Coöperative Wholesale Society, which has grown from this beginning, owns 40,000 acres of farm land in England, 10,000 acres of wheat land in Canada, 4,000 acres of tea land in Asia, and controls palm groves in Africa, currant farms in Greece, and vineyards in Spain. It owns a steamship line, docks, warehouses, and retail stores. Since 1864 the Danes have made their agriculture coöperative, achieved a more equitable distribution of wealth, and built what is probably the soundest economic structure in the world. In Europe this coöperative movement now embraces one-third of the population, with some of the largest retail, wholesale, foreign-trading, and banking enterprises under its control. Coöperation has proved successful in production, distribution, and financial organization.

Although coöperation first appeared in America during the latter part of the last century, it has made marked progress only in the past decade. The present farmers' movement aims to secure control of the market for its products by coöperation, and so its first objective was to secure laws legalizing such societies. The American Farm Bureau Federation has supported the "National Grain Growers, Inc.," a coöperative organization established to sell the nation's grain crops. The California Fruit Growers' Association has kept the fruit industry on a profit-making basis during the recent period of depression. In 1919 the Farmers'

Union of Nebraska owned 123 elevators, 4 creameries, 3 live stock commission firms, an insurance company, a paper, and numerous retail stores. The reason for the growth of coöperation can be seen in the operation of the Central Coöperative Commission Association at Minneapolis, which, in January, 1922, paid a 25 per cent patronage dividend to its patrons, and 8 per cent dividend to stockholders. In all, one-fourth of the money ordinarily paid out for selling live stock was returned to the farmer. Agriculture is not alone in this new advance of coöperation. The Massachusetts Credit Union or "Peoples' Bank" enables small depositors of any amounts, from pennies up, to have banking and credit facilities. Eight states, Massachusetts, Texas, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, California, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin, have legalized such organizations. Organized labor is adopting the method. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers controls 6,000 acres of coal lands in West Virginia and Kentucky. They own and operate the National Coöperative Bank of Cleveland, Ohio. Union labor now controls about thirty banks. The Union Machinists operate an office building and bank in Washington, D. C. The Brotherhood of the Maintenance of the Way Men own and operate mills for the production of gloves, socks, sweaters, underclothing, and overalls. They have reduced the cost of such articles to members by 40 per cent. They aim to buy directly from wool and cotton producers. Likewise they have sold to farmer's coöperatives.

The advantages of coöperation are evident. Only those participate in it who wish to do so, for there is no compulsion. It seeks to render service, rather than to make profits. Distribution is carried on at cost. Most important of all, coöperation is non-political. It has no need for governmental support, and does not desire to secure political power. Coöperation merely welds individual interests into a collective enterprise and competes openly with all other enterprises. Organized middlemen, socialists, and partisans of government ownership are its opponents. The soundness of coöperation is its reliance upon the individual's recognition of his dependence upon social action. Its success depends upon sympathetic and efficient management. It is, in fact, "socialized" industry.

"Workingmen of All Countries, unite!" This call to the class conflict is the point of departure for the socialist, syndicalist, and anarchist movements toward economic and social reform. Where coöperation appeals to the individual, these movements rely upon "class consciousness"—"solidarity" in aim and in action—as a means to success against the present owners of industry and rulers of society.

**Radical
Programs
for
Economic
Reform**

**The
Socialist
"Common-
wealth"**

Socialism seeks the destruction of the present competitive system with its institutions of private property, rent, interest, and profit. In its place there would be, not an equal division and distribution of wealth, but the "Coöperative Commonwealth" based upon common ownership and democratic management of the production system, both of land and of capital. Private property in consumption goods—books, houses, furniture, clothing, food, etc.—would remain. Industry would be a public service, and remuneration would be fixed by public authority. Everybody would be required to work. The incentives to labor would be the instinct to create and the social ideal of service in building public well-being. The socialists assert that within this economic structure humanity would find a liberation of its energies which would bring such an æsthetic and moral advance that ugliness, viciousness, and misery would disappear and the golden age would be achieved. Human welfare is the socialist ideal.

**Utopian
Socialists**

St. Simon and Fourier in France and Robert Owen in England were advocates of such a commonwealth. They proposed to secure it by founding ideal communities of a socialistic character and gradually extending them to include all society. These men are usually called the "Utopian socialists." Revolutionary socialism or "scientific socialism" owes its origin to Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848 which he issued in conjunction with Frederick Engels, and his great work, *Das Kapital*, are the textbooks of the movement. Marx taught that labor creates all wealth, and that therefore labor is its only rightful owner. Also he asserted that every society is fashioned by its economic institutions, and that all history records the struggle of class against class and particularly those who have little against those who have much. Viewing the world from the standpoint of this "economic interpretation of history," he saw present society divided into two classes, the capitalists who own the means of production, and the proletariat, or the poor, whose only wealth is children. He maintained that the interests of these classes were antagonistic, and that as the present system developed the rich would grow richer, and the poor would become poorer and more numerous, until finally, in order to save themselves from misery and destruction, they would seize control of the state, apply the principles of economic administration devised for large-scale industry by capitalists to all industry, and establish the "Coöperative Commonwealth." To accomplish this change the working-class would deprive all other portions of society of a part in the control of government and industry by setting up, as later writers have called it, the "dictatorship of the proletariat." This would be the working-class revolution. According to these doctrines of

**Scientific
Socialism**

"scientific socialism," the social revolution and the Coöperative Commonwealth were the inevitable products of capitalist economic organization.

All "socialists" who claim the name desire to secure the "Coöperative Commonwealth," but they do not agree as to the method of reaching the goal. The Marxian socialists insist upon its inevitability. In most European countries the socialists have organized into political parties and have attempted to secure control of the state. Much of the social legislation and state socialism of European countries owes its origin to the work of these parties. In England a group of brilliant students and writers, headed by Bernard Shaw and Sydney Webb, have attempted to pave the way for the coming of the socialist state by educating the people in socialist doctrines. Their work in conjunction with the agitation carried on by Marxian socialists and the trades unions created the British Labor Party. In France political socialism fell into disfavor because its leaders tended to desert their principles after being put in power and the labor movement passed over to syndicalism. The socialists of the mid-nineteenth century looked forward to a violent revolution, but their successors of the twentieth have given up the idea or hope of such complete success. In place of force they employ propaganda, and propose to reorganize the economic order through such opportune gains as political victories may make possible. "Ballots, not bullets" are to be the means of the establishment of the Coöperative Commonwealth.

**Marxian
Socialists**

**Political
Socialists**

**Fabian
Socialists**

The syndicalist movement, however, abhors politics and seeks the destruction of the state. Its methods are the general strike, sabotage, and revolution. It aims at more than general welfare: it desires to make workingmen creative laborers, and to revive a pride in workmanship for its own sake. After the destruction of the present order, society would be organized under an industrial government of federated industrial unions.

**Syndi-
calism**

Gild socialism is a compromise between syndicalism and political socialism. It finds its ideal of economic organization in the medieval gild and desires to place the control of industry under workingmen's gilds based on the trades unions. It would leave the distribution system to state control, as well as such services as education and public health maintenance. There would be a dual state, the economic government controlled by federated gilds and the political government directed by an elective legislature. Political action and pressure by trade union organizations are the methods of changing over to this new society.

**Gild
Social-
ism**

Anarchism differs from socialism not so much in the method of securing change as in the form of society finally to be organized. Anarchism would abolish the state in all its phases—officials, laws,

**Anarch-
ism**

and all forms of compulsion. Industry would be owned and operated by free associations of individual workingmen. Distribution would be simply the sharing of commodities. Complete and unrestricted freedom for the individual is the aim of the true anarchist. He dreams of a peaceful society in which human impulse, desire, and interest will be so self-restrained as to achieve justice, but so unfettered as to attain complete freedom.

Socialism, achieved by any method, seeks human welfare; syndicalism aims to make humanity creative; anarchism desires complete freedom for every individual.

The
Critics of
Social-
ism

The critics of these movements condemn them as being fanciful and impossible, and as destructive of civilization. They point to the defects in human nature as preventing their culmination, and assert that the history of industry, education, and politics since the formulation of these schemes refutes the historical premises upon which they are founded. Their partisans, on the other hand, charge the present economic and political system with a failure to achieve any general improvement of life. They declare that the present order prevents man's expression of his better nature and exploits his baser elements of greed and selfishness. They point to the corruption, graft, and profiteering all too prevalent in present society, and ask wherein there is any hope for a better world except by revolution.

Status of
Radical
Move-
ments

It is well for America and the other countries of the world to pause to measure these movements. They are present in every portion of the civilized world. Russia calls her government socialist, but actually the Russian experiment is a curious mixture of socialism and vestiges of capitalism. At one time its leaders aimed at a world-wide revolution, but now they seem to be content with the extension of their influence among the peoples of Asia. All Central Europe, from Scandinavia to the Balkans, has been swept by a wave of opinion favorable to socialistic measures. The German Republic was founded under such influences. In western Europe there are the British Labor Party which is frankly socialistic in aim, the French communists, and the Spanish syndicalists, as well as the Italian socialists the fear of whom brought the present Fascisti dictatorship. Argentina and Mexico have radical movements. Japan has been irritated by such radicals to the point of adopting repressive measures. Even Chinese workingmen have answered the call, "Workers of the World, Unite!" In America the socialist party has long played a minor political rôle. The rather recent I. W. W. movement has been syndicalist in method and in aim. Following the World War there was a general surge of radical opinion, but more recent years have brought a conservative reaction. It seems that the chief result of the radical movements

has been to stimulate the conservatives to intelligent social action.

But why do socialistic teachings secure such a world-wide following? Such universality belies the charge that they thrive only on the envy and perversity in human nature. The movement arises from the natural human desire for a better world. The idealism of the movements—the craving for a greater social justice, for a more genuine freedom, and for a more creative life—reveals some of the finest aspirations of humanity. As methods of economic reorganization, socialist teachings may offer little; as schemes of social organization, they are certainly ahead of their time; as ideals to be achieved, they become the great dynamic forces in the lives of men. Perhaps the world may be thankful that the working masses can conceive schemes of such high idealism.

The Christian teachings that “man is made in the image of God” and that he is personally responsible for his own salvation by leading a life of service, humility, and high morality become, when expressed in the concrete behavior of daily life as acts and attitudes, a great force working for social betterment. The Christian churches as a result have recently attempted to apply their doctrines to the industrial problem.

**Church
Programs
of Social
and
Economic
Reform**

The Christian socialists of the nineteenth century were advocates on moral grounds of social legislation and public ownership of industry. In 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued an appeal to the world, in which he condemned socialism, ascribed the growing bitterness of the industrial conflict to the greed of employers, admonished workers to be peaceful, and exhorted employers to treat laborers as Christian freemen. He insisted that “society can be healed in no other way than by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions.”

**Catholic
Social-
ism**

At present there are three religious programs for economic reform before the world. In 1912 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America declared for a general policy of social insurance, and demanded “the most equitable division of the products of industry that can be ultimately devised.” In 1919 the Committee on Special War Activities of the National Catholic Council issued a program for “social reconstruction.” The committee favored a national employment service, the removal of women from dangerous occupations, the maintenance of the existing wage scale, an adequate housing for workers, a reduction of the cost of living, a legal minimum wage, social insurance, labor participation in industrial management, vocational training, and the abolition of child labor. In addition to these immediate reforms, the announcement stated that “full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of workers remain mere wage-earners.” To relieve the workers from

**Protestant
Proposals**

their dependence upon wages the committee advocated a general program of coöperation by which the income of laborers might be increased and the burdens of monopolies lightened. Above all, this Catholic committee declared "that no program will prove reasonably effective without a reform in the spirit of both Capital and Labor." Labor, it asserted, must root out the desire to get a maximum return for a minimum service, while in turn Capital must learn that the laborer is a human being and not merely an instrument of production, and that the laborer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry.

**The
Quaker
Program**

The English Quakers, however, have issued the most complete program of industrial reform. They have declared that the employer, as a Christian, must shoulder the responsibility for economic reorganization, and that for him ownership is merely a stewardship. He must run his business as a public service, with the first charge against it a living wage to labor. The workers are to be given "security," and to be educated and trained for ultimate participation in management. Both labor and society are to share in the surplus earnings of industry. In the report of a recent industrial conference, they laid down these principles as the basis for immediate action. The management of the Rowntree Cocoa Works of York, England, is attempting the practical application of this program.

The spirit of these church programs is opposed to the "class consciousness" of the radicals, and also to what the Catholic pronouncement calls "the purely commercial and pagan ethics of business." They repeat the doctrine that wealth is a stewardship, that all men are Christian brothers before they are capitalists or laborers, and insist that only as the spirit of man becomes Christian can any real social transformation be brought about.

**The
Direc-
tion of
Economic
Develop-
ment**

When one turns from the stress of the industrial conflict as it is revealed in the events taking place in the lives of individual men, and confronts the problem with the knowledge that further economic development is inevitable, the important consideration ceases to be the immediate issues and becomes rather an inquiry as to the direction of the development. In spite of the passion and bitterness of the struggle it seems evident that the underlying forces working for change are constructive: employers are gradually finding that their self-interest is best served by altruism; governments assert their right to secure public welfare; by coöperating, individuals recognize their dependence on social action; even vindictive radicals aspire to a better world; and religions call upon men to recognize their common divinity even in economic life. All men do not act from the same motives, but when their motives are viewed collectively they are found to be worthy as well as

powerful. Toward what kind of an economic order are these motives impelling men? When one makes a survey of economic evolution, including both the process of changing the savage to the specialized worker in the present condition of economic interdependence, and the progressive process of the liberation of the working classes: from slavery to serfdom, and then to the wage system; and when one observes the present world tendencies: employer's welfare work, public ownership, coöperation, radical agitation, and religious aspirations; and finally, when one notes the very important development of the collective ownership of industry by means of corporate organization—all these things thrust upon one the suggestion that society is moving toward some sort of a collective administration of the means of production and distribution. By developing a profession of managers for large-scale industry, by creating a body of officials charged with duties of economic administration, and by preparing the people through coöperation for a participation in management, there are gradually being constructed, it appears, the elements of the new economic system.

Since the goal of economic development seems to be public welfare, individual freedom, and the liberation of individual energies for the pursuit of satisfactions other than those of first needs, economics, as a study, may cease to be the science of wealth and become the science of welfare.

Man will always live by the sweat of his brow, but the sum of his living is not contained in such activity, nor in the desire to avoid it. In recent times the idea that the economic motives and their expression have determined all social evolution, has been ably argued. More specifically the determining factor in social evolution has been declared to be the technical means of production which establish man's relations to the physical supports of life. The most ardent upholders of this "economic interpretation" of history have described family, political, æsthetic, and moral institutions and ideas, as being the products of economic conditions, and the changes in the means of production have been the critical events in social change. The "economic determinist" makes the quest for livelihood and gain the all-powerful motive to action. He sees all history as the expression of this motive, exhibiting, as technical advances are made, continuous struggles between the rich and the poor. While it is undoubtedly true that the economic motive is a fundamental one, and that economic organization patterns the lives of most men, to claim that there are no other factors in human life is to commit a grave error. There has never been an exclusively "economic man." Human beings desire other things than those which satisfy economic needs and wants. It is an

**The Rela-
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evident truth that wealth does not always give happiness, whatever such an intangible satisfaction may be. Man's original nature has other desires than those of acquiring, of possessing, and of displaying the goods of the earth. There are social, religious, æsthetic, and moral satisfactions which material commodities can not give. In fact, economic organization has not escaped the shaping power of other factors in social evolution. Religious ideas long held in check the economic motives of display and gain, while the advance in knowledge has preceded changes in the means of production as often as it has resulted from such changes. Society and individuals alike are molded in the general process of evolution.

If in our day economic organization seems almost as important as "economic determinists" find it to be for all history, the condition does not mean that such has always been and must continue to be the case. Men once centered their energies within institutions designed to save their souls; so at some later date, in order that men may be free to exert their creative energies in the quest of knowledge and in the refinements of literature and art, they may devise economic institutions having the sole purpose of satisfying human needs and wants. The aspirations of men, rooted in their original natures and shaped by general cultural development, seem never to cease finding expression in higher social organization. Whenever these aspirations free themselves from the predominance and compulsion of economic motives, some new factors will replace the overshadowing influence of the present economic phase in social evolution. Medieval men sought salvation; modern men seek gain; future men may aspire to beauty and goodness.

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 Chap. 15, Industrial and social progress. 1820-1840.

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 Chap. 21, Progress in the fifties.
 Chap. 28, Prosperity and progress.
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- Faulkner. Chap. 25, World trade and imperialism.
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 Chaps. 10, 11, Value and price.
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 Chap. 15, Credit and banking.
 Chap. 19, Distribution as an economic problem.
 Chap. 25, Profits.
 Chap. 26, The personal distribution of wealth.
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 Chap. 12, Major manifestations of social unrest.
- Dewey and Tufts. Chap. 22, The ethics of economic life.
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- Baker-Crothers-Hudnut. Chap. 17, Employers and workers.
 Chap. 18, The strike and the public.
 Chap. 19, Peaceful solutions.
 Chap. 20, Government control of industrial relations.
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CHAPTER VII

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: EDUCATION

In the struggle for existence all forms of life must adjust themselves to the physical environment. Among men the adjustment consists largely in the acquisition of the ways and means of living carried in the social heritage of the group into which the individual is born. Education, in the broadest sense of the term, means the acquisition of these ways and means of living, and as such it has two divisions. First, there is the incidental acquiring which goes on day-by-day from birth to death in association with others. The greatest school for life is the living of it: experience in face to face contacts with other men. By this undirected education most men in the past have been trained, and it still plays the major part in fitting an individual into the life of his generation. The second division of education is that which is properly thought of in relation to teacher, book, and school. It is formal and directed, a conscious attempt to provide child and youth with a training which will insure the performance of a definite function or the playing of a special rôle in the society of which he is a member. Undirected education provides the general training of the individual; directed education seeks to give a special development to personal abilities, and a finer integration of individual energies with the general social life. As a process all education is founded upon the individual's inherited capacity to learn, and is conditioned not only by the general content of his original nature, but also by the several stages of mental development from infancy to maturity. Specifically it involves the guidance of instincts into set forms of response, the formation of habits, the acquisition of knowledge, and the making of reasoned judgments. Education aims to fit the individual for the life which society determines he must lead.

The development of informal educational practices is merely that of the general evolution of socialization and therefore cannot be treated separately; but directed education is a distinct part of the social heritage. As such a growth directed education is the result of several lines of development: first, in the means of imparting knowledge; second, in the growth of different forms of knowledge; and third, in the methods of instruction. All education is de-

**The Na-
ture of
Education**

**The
Develop-
ment of
Education**

pendent upon language as the human means of communication, and in the end serves the same function. Since man's life has many sides, education, both formal and informal, aims at the developing and coördinating of these various sides into a harmonious whole. Present education is the result of accumulated methods of teaching and knowledge, which as they blend into a training seek to introduce man into the multiple existence of modern civilization.

Among animals the transfer of knowledge from one to another is often accomplished by means of imitation. A mother cat will bring a mouse to her kitten, pounce upon it, and then let it go free, for the kitten to pounce upon. In this manner the kitten is trained to be an expert mouser. Imitation is merely the doing of acts like another, and a large part of human activity is founded upon the stimulation that produces such action; but since only actions can be imitated, the spoken word is necessary as the means of imparting facts and ideas to those who would learn them.

The
Origin
and Signi-
ficance of
Language

It appears that the rudiments of speech exist among the animals (dogs are said to have fifteen different sounds), but man alone has developed a language with which he can name and describe the experiences which come as sensations and are retained as his thought. Language represents man's ability to recognize, retain, and recall his experiences. Speech, which originated in the primitive horde, was composed at first of mere sounds, the simple calls of one to another. Later it came to contain the group's collective experience, which, as it was organized into traditions, could be communicated by word of mouth. At the same time, by the itemization of thought into words, the coördinating and adjusting of thought to action was made possible. Language, therefore, serves two functions: first, it represents the entity of human experience, and second, it makes possible a continuous consideration of present experience in terms of past experience. So it appears that reasoning is largely a capacity developed by the use of language. By the use of words man names his experiences, and in naming them makes possible the reflective adjustment of experiences to one another, and this makes possible some control over action. This is thinking, which may be good or bad, right or wrong; in its highest form it is reasoning. Language is the outward expression of man's supreme distinction, his highly organized brain, and in the growth of language the brain's higher function of reasoning has been developed. By words man names his thoughts, which are passed on to others; in this manner the unthinking profit by the great thinkers, and the too-young-to-think acquire the thoughts of their elders. "A word is a vehicle, a boat floating down from the past, laden with thought of men we never saw, and in coming to understand it we enter not only into the minds of our contem-

The
Spoken
Word

poraries, but into the general mind of man through time.”¹ By language, men came to thinking; by thinking, good and bad alike, they came to culture; by culture, they came to present civilization. Language, thinking, and culture which are the expression, the process, and the content of man’s mind, are the instruments for his further advance.

The origins of specific words are difficult to determine. Some that name objects are imitative of the sounds made by the thing named, such as the Egyptian “*eo*” for donkey, the Chinese “*mau*” for cat, and the English “*pop*” for soda water. The first words were probably nouns; the words which represent relationships, actions, and qualities developed later. The final organization of words into a medium of expression with fixed forms, orders, and rules—a grammar—was the climax but not the end of the development of language. New words and modifications of existing forms are continually entering all living languages. Of the languages there are seven great groups: the Semitic, represented by the Hebrew; the Hamitic, by the ancient Egyptian; the Negro, by the languages of the African Sudan; the Altaic, by the Turkish, the Chinese, the Japanese, and others of the East; the Indo-American, by the American Indian tongues; and finally, the Aryan or Indo-European, of which the English, German, Russian, French, and Spanish are the most important forms. The languages in each of these groups are related. For example, in the Aryan group the English “*father*” and “*mother*” are obviously akin to the German “*Vater*” and “*Mutter*,” to the French “*père*” and “*mère*,” to the Spanish “*padre*” and “*madre*,” to the Armenian “*nair*” and “*mair*” and in the Sanskrit to “*pitar*” and “*matar*.” Greek and Latin are the older forms in this group which have contributed important elements to the modern languages.

The “American language” is a variable from English, which is one of several known as Teutonic in the Aryan group of languages. Gothic, a fragment of which survives in the Bible of Ulfilas (311–381) was probably the parent of the tongues which are spoken in Scandinavia, Holland, and Germany, as well as in English-speaking countries. The oldest known manuscript in which English words occur is a Kentish charter of 679 A. D., but modern English is a survivor from several dialects. It developed in the midland counties about London. Chaucer gave it a currency in poetry, Wycliffe used it in prose, and Shakespeare, in whose time the language was most fluid, gave it the greatest expression. Many elements entered into its formation. Some little Latin had entered the stream before the Saxon invasion, then came Norse words and French with its burden of Latin. Greek and Celtic elements are

The
Great
Lan-
guages

The
English
Language

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 66.

more recent, as well as elements from many other sources—for example, “*dock*” and “*yacht*” are from the Dutch and “*nabob*” is from India. Francis Bacon and the makers of the King James Version of the Bible of 1611 set the basic style of English prose. The printing of the first book by Caxton in 1475 began the stabilization of the forms of the language. Since the sixteenth century the compiling of dictionaries and the refining of forms, spelling, and grammar have established the present shape of the language, but it retains its capacity to absorb foreign words.

**The
American
Language**

The American speech began its independent development in colonial times. English authorities early began to deplore American usages as vulgar and barbarous. The main differences between the two languages are the greater expressiveness and fluidity of the American. Where the English say “keyless watch” Americans say “stemwinder.” The making of new words and the absorbing of foreign words go on more rapidly in America.

**The Con-
tinuous
Growth of
Language**

Slang is the progressive part of any language. In slang expressions, coined in the heat of living, occur the formation of new words and phrases some of which in the course of time find their way into the accepted usages. The making of new words and phrases mark the pace of human life. The naming of new and old experiences in such ways that they enter into relations different from those already established in the mind further facilitates thinking, so that the spoken word is the measure of men’s living. The average man with his 500 words, the college graduate with his 3,000, the doctor of philosophy with his 8,000, and Shakespeare with his many more thousands, touch life on different levels. Man’s living is dependent upon the tools of thought, words.

**The
Written
Word**

Since the spoken word is soon lost, it was a matter of supreme importance when men, by the invention of writing, were able to give permanence to their experiences and thoughts. With writing they could preserve and add to the knowledge which had been accumulated. The first forms of recording facts were mere aids to the memory, such as the Australian notched sticks and the Peruvian knotted cords. The first genuine attempts to record experiences were by pictures. The American Indians were adept at such representation. The ancestor of our present writing is the Egyptian hieroglyphic, a picture writing which in its highest development furnished the forms for an alphabet of twenty-four letters. In picture writing the symbols attempt to represent the action recorded; in true writing the symbols represent sounds, which combine into words, which are the symbols of thought and experience. The Egyptians never used their alphabet to any great extent; it was carried to the Mediterranean world by the Phœnicians, and after much modification transmitted to Europe by the Greeks.

**The
Alphabet**

Such aids to expression as the spacing of words, capital letters, and punctuation are comparatively recent additions.

From ancient times to the early modern period writing was of two kinds: inscriptions on stone monuments, and inscribed manuscripts. Records and books were laboriously copied by hand until the middle of the fifteenth century when the art of printing was invented. A thousand years previously the Chinese had used wooden blocks for making impressions, and the medieval copyist used engraved pictures and words, but it was only by the invention of movable type that printing became a practical art. Coster in Holland and Gutenberg in Germany gave this art to the world. Wooden type was used in 1420, and metal type about 1451. Printing presses soon appeared in all parts of Europe, the most famous of which was the Aldine Press at Venice. By the end of the fifteenth century more than 25,000 books had been printed, exclusive of re-issues. In America the press was set up first in Mexico in 1544, and in the colonies at Harvard in 1639. By printing, books were multiplied, pamphlets and newspapers were made possible, and thus the means for storing and for carrying knowledge were greatly improved. The invention of the steam printing press in 1814 introduced mechanical book-making and news-printing. To-day the accumulated knowledge and experience of the world flow across the printed page. The written word gives form, permanence, and audience to the flashing thought, and man's mind is given a still greater tool for the advancement of culture.

**The In-
vention of
Printing**

Since education is training for life, the second division of its growth is the accumulation of the various items of knowledge which enter into the training. As the culture of man grew, this knowledge expanded until at present the accumulation has become so great that no one man can hope to master it. The materials of the school are only selected portions from the whole.

**The
Accumula-
tion of
Knowl-
edge**

Among the primitive peoples the kinds of roots, berries, and fruits suitable for food, and the kinds of animals, their abodes and habits, were the most important forms of knowledge. Life depended directly upon knowing these things. With the invention of weapons and tools the acquisition of skill in their use became a necessary form of learning. The ways of carrying on all activities in conformity with the practices of the group also became a matter of knowledge to be passed on by imitation and instruction. All primitive peoples preserve their customs by observing ceremonies designed to impress upon the young the sacredness of their practice. Among the Australian aborigines the initiation ceremonies instructed the youth in their customs relative to women, children, and men. With such customs moral knowledge made its appearance. The magic, performances, charms, and incantations of

**What
Primitive
Men
Knew**

medicine men and priests became religious knowledge. The memories of exploits in the hunt and war were the germ of history. Literary expression began with the recounting of these exploits and the simple chants of the religious ceremonies. Dancing and dramatic production had their origin in the same ceremonies. The pictorial and plastic arts grew from the same root as writing. As men went about their lives certain facts were impressed upon their minds—the rising and setting of the sun, the phases of the moon, and the passing of the seasons. They came to mark these as units of time. Likewise they learned to enumerate the objects in their surroundings. The Australians counted from one to fifteen on their fingers and arms. The knowledge of the habits of animals, the properties of plants, the uses of materials, and the practical processes of securing food, shelter, and clothing, together with this measure of time and the counting of objects, were the roots from which science sprang. At some time before man came to preserve his thoughts in writing, these general domains of the field of knowledge were established.

The
Contribu-
tions of
Early
Oriental
Civiliza-
tions

These general fields were given a turn in the direction of present forms by the early civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean regions. There, literature and science were born. Egypt produced *The Book of the Dead*. The circle was divided into degrees, and engineering, surveying, and astronomy developed theoretically and practically. The fundamental elements of the calendar were devised. Some 5,000 years ago such achievements of Orientals laid the foundations of western civilization.

The
Contribu-
tions of
the
Greeks

These oriental contributions came to us chiefly through the work of the Greeks, who, in their far superior civilization, gave the fundamental forms to the content of modern literature and science. Homer is still the standard of excellence for measuring poetic achievement. Herodotus and Thucydides founded history as we know it. Xenophanes with his idea of "constant change in all things," Democritus with his "atoms," and Aristotle with his collections and observations, foreshadowed the content and spirit of modern science. The Greeks, however, did more than give form to these studies: they unified them, and drew from them an interpretation of life as a whole which was different from that embodied in tradition. They founded philosophy, and this larger questioning view of life, especially in the teachings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, was the first attempt to understand life through a rational consideration of all human experience. With these Greeks the mind was free, unshackled by priestly and kingly authority, unbound by custom and tradition, and free to test experience and knowledge, to revise all thought, and to assert all opinions. To these achievements they added the discovery of

beauty and the quest of justice. Knowledge to administer life, beauty to adorn life, justice to sweeten life—these were the magnificent transforming contributions of Grecian civilization. In comparison with the present developments in the separate fields of knowledge, their learning was meagre, but in the pure spirit of reason and clearness of insight, the modern world has not gone far beyond those first true historians, scientists, and philosophers. Their spirit still dwells in the social heritage.

Greek civilization centered in cities: Athens, Sparta, Thebes and Syracuse are names around which the traditional glories of western culture linger. Mutual jealousies kept the cities disunited and foreign conquerors destroyed their local independence; but their culture spread. Alexander the Great carried Greek learning back to the original homes of civilization in Africa and Asia Minor, where it thrived anew, especially under the Ptolemies at Alexandria, in Egypt. Roman expansion absorbed most of Alexander's empire, the Greek cities, and their culture. Through Rome, Grecian civilization was given to western Europe. Virgil and Livy followed Greek standards in poetry and history. Although Lucretius gave the greatest single expression to Roman thought, it was Cicero who gathered into one synthesis all that was fine in Greek philosophy and spirit. His works were the spring-source of the inspiration given to modern life by ancient learning. In the field of natural science Pliny was a follower of Aristotle. Since Greek as a language died out about 500 A.D., and remained practically unknown to western Europe until the fifteenth century, works in Latin by authors of the sixth century A.D., served as textbooks of ancient learning for medieval scholars.

With the advent of Christianity, which emphasized the life in this world as a preparation for a future state of reward or punishment, the natural world was superseded by the supernatural world as the chief interest of learning. At the same time the barbarian invasions made necessary a long civilizing process before any use or development of the ancient culture was possible. The warlike Teutons had to be trained in the ways of charity, humility, and peace before their virile intellects could take up the tasks of science and art. As a result the Church Fathers succeeded poets and philosophers, and the Greek attempt to interpret life in terms of this world was smothered under dogma, precept, and creed. All desirable knowledge was incased in books which few could or did read—a Latin version of the Bible, scraps from Aristotle, and works by Churchmen, especially St. Augustine. Little light broke through the lowered pall until about the eighth century, when the learning long isolated in Ireland filtered back to

The
Transmis-
sion of
Grecian
Culture to
Western
Europe
by Rome

The
Middle
Ages and
Scholasti-
cism

England and the continent. At the same time the Arabic civilization reared its cities in Spain and North Africa, and brought revived Greek science and Hindu culture again within the reach of Europe. The late Middle Ages witnessed a genuine revival and development in all fields of knowledge and expression. Modern nations found their epic poems—the *Song of Roland*, *Beowulf*, the *Nibelungenlied*—issuing in song from the lips of unknown bards. Troubadours sang of chivalric love and adventure. Dante gathered the religious vision and the passion of the Middle Ages into the surpassing dream of the *Divine Comedy*. Like Homer at the dawn of Grecian civilization, Dante appears at the dawn of modern civilization an inspiration of wondrous beauty. The chief contribution of this revival was the reawakened minds which meant, when men turned their attention to fields more fruitful than theological disputation, that worldly experience would give new inspirations to learning. The formal learning of the period, scholasticism, which thrived in the newly founded universities, cared little for worldly experience. For it science was only “astrology,” which sought to tell the future by the passing of heavenly bodies, or “alchemy,” which sought to transform base metal into gold or age into youth, or sought to find the “philosopher’s stone” which might do both. Reasoning itself had a degenerate form, a precise logic-chopping which cut all conclusions into the form of preconceived ideas; and yet scholasticism marked a definite awakening of the mind from its long slumber.

Scholasti-
cism

Human-
ism and
the Pass-
ing of
Scholasti-
cism

After the twelfth century certain forces weakened scholasticism. The Crusades set the European peoples marching to the Holy Land, and showed them new ideas as well as new luxuries. From Byzantium and Antioch Greek scholars and manuscripts filtered back to the schools and libraries of Europe. The first of these Greek scholars taught in Florence in the late fourteenth century. At the same time the great Arabic culture contributed energizing elements to the European revival. Arabic numerals replaced the cumbersome Roman system of notation, medicine received the impulse of anatomical studies, genuine astronomical observations recommenced, and travelers, the greatest of whom was Marco Polo, returned with great tales of China and India. With these events the world became new again. Petrarch, “the first modern man,” wrote love sonnets to Laura, and is said to have climbed a hill just “for the joy of looking down;” but most of his climbing was done around old monasteries in search of ancient manuscripts. He knew no Greek; Cicero was his inspiration. Following him a group of scholars, studying life in the spirit of Ancient Greece, transformed the intellectual outlook of Europe. Nature returned to please and to interest men, and from this pleasure and

interest came the reflowering of the arts, and the expansion of knowledge into the modern physical and social sciences.

In the burst of energy which brought the Italian Renaissance and sent Europeans overseas in search of wealth and adventure, the spirit of the contemporary mind was formed, a spirit which was appreciative, creative, and investigative—three complementary attributes which united to renovate the existing culture. But the ancient learning was not the only source of the renovation, for the newly discovered peoples and cultures of the Orient and America provided a stimulation which soon carried the European mind beyond the limits of Greek science and philosophy. The limited universe of the scholastic was shattered: the new world confounded his science and disturbed his theology. Europeans became alive to the greater world of the men whose social practices and ideas, as well as plundered wealth, they carried home. The intellectual importations set up a fermentation in European culture which resulted in its quick transformation. The great impulses to human thinking are engendered either in human associations, or by increased facts for the mind to contemplate. The Commercial Revolution stimulated both factors. The basic causes of the intellectual advances of modern times are to be found in the cultural release afforded by the abrupt widening of the European horizon from continental to world limits.

The
Origin
of the
Modern
Mind in
the Intel-
lectual
Reactions
of the
Commer-
cial Revo-
lution

From the aroused mind with its broader view of life came new arts that reveled in the beauties of earth and life. Color and form made painting a new wonder. Soaring Gothic steeples were replaced by the Greek column and the Roman dome. Sculpture became virile. Literature turned to the problems of living men and women. Leonardo da Vinci and his contemporaries strewed Italy with the fruits of their genius in all forms of the new art, literature, and science. Erasmus, the Dutch scholar, embodied the very spirit of the age in his tempered but robust discourses which recognized not only the good of the new but the value in the old as well. Cervantes set Don Quixote at the windmills, like men at the windmills of life. Pathetic or humorous, who knows? Montaigne gave reason its old labor at the problems of government, manners, and morals. Shakespeare gathered the romances of the Middle Ages and ancient days into his dramas, and filled them with the warmth and depth of feeling which the new age demanded. Whereas Dante took his readers to the other world of the lost and saved, Shakespeare let his contemporaries sit at the stage—and “all the world’s a stage.” Not the other life, but this life, was the passion of the new age. Milton found this earth the battle-ground between good and evil where “paradise” was “lost” and then “regained.” Change is always gradual and the old society did not at once disappear

The
Modern
Arts

before this spread of literary excellence. Indeed, it was not until the eighteenth century, when Voltaire's satirical smile evoked many a frown from the lords of land and church, that reason pointed an accusing finger at social abuses. Lesser writers gave a glow to the "Enlightenment" of which the great French rationalist was the chief brilliance. Goethe, at the end of the century, wove the strands of western civilization into a concept of world culture. At the same time the novel began to replace the poem and the drama as the prevailing literary form. Across its pages living men and women moved in portrayals of situations in the peasant's hut or the lord's palace. In the eighteenth century "Rationalism" quite destroyed emotion in literature, but the "Romanticism" of the early nineteenth century restored it. "Realism"—"a spade is a spade"—is the ideal of recent art: man is not perfect nor is nature; beauty is not truth and truth is not beauty; but all are art if they are in life, and not otherwise. Life as it has been found to be—by science and by living it—is the content of the modern arts. Among all of the arts the classical expression of one alone, music, belongs to the modern world.

The
Modern
Physical
Sciences

No definite beginning can be set for the new science. Early in the twelfth century men began to advocate experimentation as well as the reading of authorities as a method of discovering truth. Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, after having come in contact with the Arabic culture, definitely placed "experimental science" in a list of the most important subjects. In the next two centuries many men contributed their bits of discovery, until by the sixteenth century the first glow of scientific light shone upon the multiplicity of existence. Copernicus by asserting that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the solar system, overthrew the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Vesalius was the first modern to dissect a human body. Palissy declared that the fossils were not freaks of nature but the remains of once living organisms. But Galileo was probably the first great modern scientist. By relating the number of strokes of a pendulum to the beats of his heart he discovered that the time movement of a pendulum is proportionate to its length and weight. His discovery of the law of falling bodies is a classic in the use of the scientific method. First, he recognized that the phenomenon of falling bodies was worth investigating. Then he made a guess as to the facts of their rates of movement and gave it a mathematical expression. By experiment he tested his hypothesis until he found its truth. After finding the proof he worked out the implication of the law in the general field of science. In these steps may be recognized the chief phases of the method of science: first, the making of a hypothesis as to the nature of some phenomenon; second, the per-

The Meth-
ods of
Science

forming of experiments, *i. e.*, the controlling of natural conditions so as to demonstrate the truth or falsity of the hypothesis; third, the stating of the results of the experiment as a formula, an equation, or a law so that the discovery may be used in making more hypotheses and experiments; and fourth, the relating of the discovery to the existing scientific knowledge so as to show the meaning of the new knowledge in a more complete understanding of all phenomena. By making motion a phenomenon for investigation and measurement, Galileo ushered in the development of all of that knowledge which exhibits the universe as a play of forces and energies.

Seventeenth century workers completed the framework of the present scientific structure. Francis Bacon brought the entire range of life and the universe within the scope of scientific investigation, and visioned a remade world, rich and well-governed, through progress achieved by science. René Descartes found a mathematical method—analytical geometry—for the description of the positions of points in space. The mathematical expression of scientific law is his contribution to science. Newton gathered the work of Galileo, Descartes, and others, especially Kepler, who had worked out the laws of planetary motion, into one synthesis descriptive of the entire physical universe, and stated it as the law of gravitation. With his calculus he completed the work of Descartes, for in its mathematical terms it made possible the description of any motion. Copernicus gave the static and limited universe of the Middle Ages and ancient world an infinite extent in space, Galileo in a sense gave it motion, and Newton gave it unity. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood began the work of making living organisms a part of this new dynamic physical universe. In the work of the scientists from Galileo to Newton were matured the outlook, method, and content of that science which in its later development has become the unique addition made by modern men to the knowledge of the race.

In this later development the essential contribution of the eighteenth century was the work of Lavoisier in founding chemistry. The nineteenth century may be truly called the "age of science." No adequate summary of the discoveries made by innumerable workers of all western nations during its course is possible. Several great theories form the core of modern scientific knowledge. There are the wave theories of heat, sound, and light. The theory of light is now being modified in favor of what is known as the "quantum theory." The nebular-planetesimal hypothesis offers an explanation of the earth's origin. Lyell's theory of uniformity makes it possible for men to read the record of the earth's history as written in and by the rocks. The law of the "conservation of

**The First
Fruits of
Science**

**The Nine-
teenth
Century,
the Age
of Science**

energy" is fundamental in the whole science of mechanics. Dalton's atomic theory provides a basis for an understanding of the structure of matter. Faraday's discoveries underly the study of electricity. The germ theory accounts for infectious diseases. The cellular theory of bodily structure, the theory of evolution, the Mendelian laws of heredity, and the Weismann theory of the germ plasm are fundamental to present knowledge of organic life. Biology, the science of organic life, is the greatest scientific achievement of the nineteenth century. Its propositions and conclusions are at once a warning and a hope to man, a warning of his fate if he allows blind chance to control his future, a hope if he uses the new knowledge to thwart the forces of degeneration. The theory of evolution in its wider application as the "law of evolution" offers an explanation of continuity and development of the universe.

The
Changed
View of
the
Universe

To the "infinity of space" and the "unity in motion" of the seventeenth century concept of the universe have been added the ideas of the "infinity of time" and the "orderliness of universal development" through an infinite series of forms. The static and limited universe of the old view has become in the light of present knowledge a dynamic, developing universe, infinite in both space and time. By observation, experimentation, and daring thought, man has won this knowledge of physical phenomena, and adds to it by the same methods.

The
Social
Sciences

While material existence was being investigated, man's life in society was also receiving attention. History had long been only a chronicle of kings, popes, and emperors, the uncertainties of feudal wars, and the miraculous intervention of supernatural powers in the affairs of men. Unless the religious view of social organization can be called scientific, there had been no genuine study of man's society since the works of Aristotle. The rediscovery of the ancient learning compelled a new view of man's past, and the growing enthusiasm for worldly life led men to become more critical and thoughtful. Reginald Peacock attacked the established order by showing that the title of the Pope to his Italian lands was faulty, and Marsiglio of Padua carried the attack much farther by insisting that the supreme jurisdiction of the Church was without a legal or a Biblical foundation. In the course of time nations and peoples replaced kings and popes as the chief interest of historians. Bruni in his *History of Florence* achieved the first truly modern history, but it was a much later man, Voltaire, who, in his *History of the Customs*, visioned the real service of historical study, namely, the projection of a view of the world-life of man. In the nineteenth century Thomas Buckle

essayed the construction of a "science of history," both descriptive and theoretical, and the great German historians, by inaugurating the evaluation of sources of information and by depending only upon the trustworthy sources for data, made the subject scientific as to method. As a result much of legend, tradition, and high romance has been expelled from history, but it remains in the hands of recent historians a story romantic in its very humanity. History has come to be essentially the study of social change and includes therefore, of necessity, an exhibition of every phase of man's life. For the consideration of that life the historians have found new viewpoints which have lengthened man's vision and deepened his insight. The archæologists have unearthed the remains of primitive men and early civilizations. One of the great results of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1799 was the discovery of the "Rosetta Stone" which led to the deciphering of the ancient Egyptian writings. Students, too, from the inscriptions on the "Behistun Rock" have learned to read the writings of Chaldea and Babylon. As a result of these discoveries our knowledge of ancient times has been greatly enriched and clarified. Other archæological finds have bridged the gap between these early civilizations and the life of primitive man, so that now history affords a view, still blurred but rich in suggestiveness, of the development of culture and social organization from the late glacial ages to the present time.

The
New
History

In the course of the eighteenth century political science and economics developed separately from history. In the *laissez faire* economic doctrines and the social compact theory of the origin of government, these studies provided the theoretical bases for the social reorganization which filled the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Economics
Political
Science

The later decades of the nineteenth century, however, contributed most to the prevailing knowledge of man's social life. Sociology developed from the works of Auguste Comte. He sought to make the study of society positive and scientific, and to provide a factual basis rather than a theoretical approach for politics and government. Official census taking, taxation, and city growth provided the material to which mathematical principles were applied. This gave to the world a science of statistics. Social surveys, the scientific description of community life, appeared in the later decades of the century. The collection of great numbers of special cases makes possible generalizations about social conditions and development. Statistics give promise of becoming to the social scientist what experiments are to physical scientists, but it is still too early to accept the findings of statisticians as trustworthy.

Sociology

Statistics

A finer technique and greater care in gathering data must be developed. The statistical method of social study, however, has been devised; it remains to be applied.

**Anthro-
pology**

Another of the new approaches to the study of society, anthropology, owes its origin to the eighteenth century interest in savage man. The founders and followers of this science visited the lower races and tribes, and found in their lives much information concerning the origin and growth of society and culture. Much that is otherwise inexplicable in modern life is cleared up by the facts of anthropology. The link between these sciences which study man's social life and those sciences which treat of the physical elements of existence is psychology. It endeavors to exhibit the nature of man's mechanism of adjustment to his environment and the quality of the behavior which is the content of social life. It finds data not only in the biological make-up of man, but also in the cultural *milieu* which is the matrix of his personality. Psychology is the newest of the sciences and its conclusions are the most controversial, but they provide, together with the new history, sociology, statistics, and anthropology, a fresh approach to the understanding of life in human society. This understanding, even in its present outlines, demands a revision of the principles of political science and economics, the two social sciences established before the scientific method was applied to the study of social phenomena. In fact, all of the social sciences are now in the process of reformation. What the nineteenth century was to the physical sciences, the twentieth century promises to be to the social sciences. The day of man's knowledge of man is dawning.

**Psychol-
ogy**

**The
Changed
View of
Man**

Just as the physical sciences changed man's view of the universe, so the social sciences have compelled him to take a new view of himself. In the old static universe he was but a fallen sinner, expelled by divine wrath from an earthly paradise, while in the new dynamic universe he is one with the life of the earth, the end-product of an evolutionary series which has carried life, as the entire universe has developed, from the simple protoplasm to its present forms. Man himself has become dynamic, driven by inward, inherited urges, and yet he finds himself limited by these same forces, hampered by and dependent upon his past, and conditioned in all his actions by his present. In the present are carried those cultural achievements of the ages which become for him the chief factor in determining life. The social sciences set themselves the problem of aiding man to understand both the individual and social phases of life and its development.

Man brings to life these inherited endowments: plastic impulses to action, emotions giving quality to experience, and intelligence seeking to understand the same experience. The arts and sciences

owe their development to these original elements in human nature, and both alike are an expression of human energies, appreciation, and understanding. Furthermore, they are rewards for efforts and satisfactions of needs. They administer to as well as express life.

Beauty may be defined as a blending of satisfactions, not only of the senses, but also of the emotions and reason, in such a way that the individual is relieved of annoyance and transported beyond the harder facts of life to a pleasant and contemplative state. Beauty in this aspect arouses appreciation. If men strive to secure such satisfactions, beauty becomes an aspiration. It summons creative energies to make æsthetic achievements. Most people have the capacity to admire, yet only a few possess the abilities necessary to create beauty. In the past the arts have been given progress by rare geniuses springing from all classes, men whose energies drove them to the heights of expression. As a social factor art has largely been a plaything of the leisure classes. The arts never have been made to serve the aspirations of all men, nor have they ever been brought to give beauty to all life. At best they have served only to preserve in material forms the aspirations of different generations. The modern world has driven art from industry and prostituted the surviving creations of earlier ages to make profits or to decorate the life of those who possess wealth. Recent times have little recognized the energizing power of the arts. Does anyone yet dare to dream that the arts may yield grace to all life, or that they may draw out the latent creative powers of the race? Ruskin's voice is drowned in the bickerings of sublimated acquisitiveness. "Art for art's sake" often enough begets beautiful creations: "art for life's sake" may arouse a sublimation of all human nature. The æsthetic longing and its satisfaction are factors the possibilities of which have been too little exploited.

The
Places of
Science
and Art
in Human
Life

Art, both as effort and reward, is an end in itself; science is only a means to an end. Science may be defined as a body of systematized, tested, and verifiable knowledge expressing in general terms the relations which men have recognized in exactly defined phenomena. Life is of many and little things, and science seeks to master these factors in order that life may be served. Pure science endeavors to attain the necessary understanding; applied science attempts to render the service. Art thrives on emotional experience, but science grows with reason. Earlier cultures which embodied considerable emotional constituents inspired art, while modern civilization with its basis in acquisitiveness and curiosity has created science. Scientific knowledge may be used for any purpose—to preserve food, to cure disease, or to slaughter enemies.

Science knows no morals; so it may be equally a "good Samaritan" or an "evil jinni." Man does not yet know the character of the giant called out by rubbing the lamp of knowledge. When one reads the visions of those who describe the possible horrors of "the next war," the fear grows that the giant is becoming the evil jinni. The modern world has developed science as a means for making wealth and for relieving sickness, but science has no such limitations on its functions. In its expanding functions, science offers much hope for the future. Its method is destructive of dogmatism, fanaticism, and prejudice, and its ideal of accurate knowledge, truth, must always be an influence working to inspire high purposes. Man has found in science an instrument by the right use of which he may transform his civilization.

Uncontrolled instincts find issue in vice and depravity, excessive emotionalism arouses passion and intolerance, and triumphant reason tends to beget cold formalism. Such qualities do not describe an inviting social order. No single element in man's nature dares to be liberated from restraints, for only by a balanced release of his energies can an orderly society be maintained. To the "beautiful" of the arts and the "true" of the sciences must be added the "good;" and men must determine the good for themselves. Art may grace life, science may serve it, but men must lead it. And in their leading they must select the grace and the service which they may deem worthy.

The
Develop-
ment of
Educa-
tional
Practices

The general content of a culture—art, science, and morals—is carried to the individual by education. At first it centers in the family, where he has the earliest association with other humans. The earliest school was the home. There the child of primitive times learned the group traditions, the ways and means of living with people, and the methods of gaining a livelihood. Such education was entirely informal. Formal education probably had its beginning in the religious ceremonies by which youths were initiated into the tribe. As has already been noted, the Australian tribal initiations were a test of courage and endurance. As part of a formal ritual a tooth was knocked from the youth's jaw, but he was to show no sign of pain; then, after receiving instruction in the customs of the tribe, he was turned loose upon the Bush to subsist upon a few designated foods. At the end of a certain period, he was admitted to membership in the tribe, and allowed to take a wife. There was no formal education for girls. Under barbarism the tribal priests monopolized knowledge and made education a part of their control over society. In earliest civilization formal education consisted of learning by rote the traditional religion and history which furnished the materials. The Hindu and Chinese schools still follow this method; the students read and

Primitive
Education

reread the wisdom of the ancients. Such methods aimed only at holding the person in the group organization and provided no impulse to individual development.

The Greeks, however, veered to the other extreme. Their schools taught music, gymnastics, literature, science, and philosophy. They emphasized individual excellence by offering prizes for best performances, and poetry was held as worthy of honor as the race. They also developed the conversational method of discussion, which depends upon the keenness of the mind for its success. Socrates in the streets of Athens, questioning and arguing with the youth, was condemned because tradition suffered in the searching inquiry of discussion. But the struggle between tradition and freedom to seek the truth did not end with his drinking the hemlock. The chief attacks upon present education come from those who believe it to be "corrupting the youth" by destroying their faith in traditions. The freedom in Greek education became the inspiration of modern educational advance.

The
Greek
Schools

The Romans imitated the Grecian schools. When Christianity and the barbarian invasions engulfed the ancient civilization, even this imitation disappeared, and education degenerated into a rigid system comparable to that of the Orient. Medieval schools were developed by the Church to serve her needs for theologians and priests. The schools taught theology, church law, and the "seven liberal arts," of which logic, rhetoric, and grammar were the most important. Lectures read slowly from textbooks based on Aristotle and the Church Fathers were laboriously copied by students, and their content was accepted quite without investigation. Students memorized the notes, and became masters of dispute on debatable points. This education denied the freedom of individual development, because belief, not knowledge, was its ideal. Conformity to Church doctrine was enforced by Church law, and thinking contrary to authoritative ideas was punishable as heresy.

The
Schools
of the
Middle
Ages

In the awakening of the later Middle Ages, which displayed its force in the Renaissance and in the Protestant Revolt, education was turned in the direction of its modern development. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries groups of scholars and teachers gathered in places favorable for study and debate. Among the earliest of the medieval universities were those established at Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Prague. By the middle of the fifteenth century there were about eighty of these cosmopolitan centers of learning in Europe. Latin served as the common language, and the course of study retained its medieval form except that work in medicine and civil law was offered for those who sought careers outside of the Church. As the universities grew they received charters and privileges from the princes and cities, grants which gave to

The
Begin-
nings of
Modern
Schools
during the
Religious
Revolution
of the Six-
teenth
Century

their students and instructors a definite place in the organized life of feudal society. The garb of the modern college graduate and the wording of his diploma are forms surviving from these early universities. The Renaissance introduced Greek into the curriculum. Secondary schools, in their present form, owe their origin to the Latin grammar schools founded at this time by the new rich class of the cities. The Protestant Revolt brought the idea of universal education. When the authority of the Bible as read by the individual was substituted for papal authority and religious tradition, education in reading became an immediate necessity. The upshot of the contest between the Protestants and the Jesuit leaders of the Catholic Counter Reformation, was the organization of new schools in all parts of Europe. The aim was to teach the common people as much reading as was necessary to furnish them with enough information to insure their religious obedience. The three institutions of the present educational system—university or college, secondary school, and elementary school—had their origin in the centuries which marked the passing of the Middle Ages.

**Impulse to
Popular
Education
Given by
the French
Revolution**

Until the French Revolution the essential features of these early schools and universities remained unchanged. The clergy were prepared for the offices of church and state, while the nobles were drilled in the rudiments of "love, war, and religion." Except as the common people were taught enough to keep them obedient and at work, they were left in deep ignorance. Nothing like general reading among the masses appeared until the ferment of the late eighteenth century destroyed the Old Régime.

**The
Develop-
ment of
Contem-
porary Ed-
ucational
Methods**

Rousseau led the attack which finally broke down the older limitations on educational methods and opportunity. For him the child was a developing personality whose several mental stages should be treated differently in educational practice. To this psychological view of educational method he added the conviction that education had a social service to perform. He believed that feeling rather than reason was common to all men, and that education should enable them to become warm and loving members of society rather than dispassionate and logic-chopping philosophers. Above all, Rousseau believed that children should be taught by the direct observation of nature and life. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, since it was a story showing how man could live without the fol-de-rol of civilization, was accepted as the one book suitable for youth. His lasting influence was in the works of those men whom he inspired. Pestalozzi inaugurated the movement which renovated practical educational methods. He thought that the purpose of education should be to relieve the masses of their distresses. The present faith in education as a means of social progress owes much to this conviction. In his school at Neuhof,

Rousseau

Pestalozzi

Switzerland, he devised methods by which children might learn as they played. He taught by directing observation to concrete objects, and by leading activities toward the performance of special modes of behavior. Industrial training was an essential part in his scheme of instruction. Finally, he insisted that the teacher should put aside the rôle of master and tyrant to become the friendly companion of the student. Herbart declared that the aim of education was the development of character. Like Rousseau and Pestalozzi, he emphasized the place of activity in learning. He applied the psychological method to the separate recitation, and worked out the procedure by which materials could be best learned, assimilated, and employed. Froebel drew much from the work of his predecessors. He believed, as did Rousseau, that the chief aim of education was the development of the individual. He first emphasized the value of social activities in learning, and the kindergarten is his great contribution to present educational organization. In the work of these theorists and practitioners the chief characteristics of present educational methods had their origin.

Herbart

Froebel

At first the elementary, secondary, and higher schools were separate from one another, but the attempt to fit instruction to the advancing stages of mental development resulted in their organization into a single system. Another result of the psychological approach to educational practice was the revision of the course of study. Religion and theology were dropped, to be replaced by courses drawn from science. In the lower grades the simple and fundamental tools of intellectual work, together with the general facts of individual and social life, came to be taught. As the child advanced, new courses from the sciences and arts allowed an expression of his own interests and capacities. In place of inculcating traditions the new educational practice endeavored to afford the student the opportunity to acquire such knowledge and habits of action as would fit him to meet the changing situations of life. If modern educational practice has sought to develop the student, it has, on the other hand, conceived his development as conditioned by social factors, and as serving, in the end, a social function. The psychological and sociological approaches to the problem of education have been complementary. The one has emphasized the development of individual capacity and character; the other has sought to harmonize individual and society.

The same general fermentation of ideas which produced the new educational practices set the schools a new task. Public education for the masses is distinctly a new element in western culture. For centuries formal education served religion and the churches, but in recent times this service has been withdrawn and given to the individual and the state. It was in Germany that the first official

**The
Growth of
Public
Education
in Eu-
rope**

Germany

steps toward the creation of a national system of public education were taken. In 1763 Frederick the Great issued regulations requiring all children between the ages of five and thirteen years to attend school, and establishing public examinations and inspection for the teachers. All schools and universities were declared to be state institutions in 1794. Religious instruction, however, was allowed to remain in the course of study. During the Prussian revival, 1806-1814, the German school system was given its modern form. The University of Berlin was founded in 1809, and soon afterwards the gymnasia were made the preparatory schools. In addition to the preparatory school which preserved the classics as the chief studies, new schools providing instruction in trades and sciences were founded. By 1825 the essential elements in the Prussian school system were complete. After 1871 this system was extended to all Germany. Bismarck waged a fierce struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, the upshot of which was that the common schools became servants of the state, inculcating love of country and obedience to the government, and teaching industrial vocations. The gymnasia, technical schools, and universities trained the experts who, under the centralized bureaus of the imperial government, administered public affairs.

France

The Revolution of 1789 produced a complete scheme of national education for France. Although Napoleon, the heir of the Revolution, attempted to draw the pupils and teachers into one system which he called the "University of France," general education had to wait more favorable times. After the fall of the restored Bourbons, Guizot, in 1833, carried a law which established the elementary schools of the present French educational system, but the continuous changes in government during the middle of the nineteenth century prevented any regular development. Since 1875 all schools have been placed under state control and given an administration even more centralized than that existing in Germany.

England

The English government long was a laggard in establishing public schools. Early in the nineteenth century individuals organized Sunday schools to teach reading and writing to the poor, but the schools of the established Anglican church retained a monopoly of general popular instruction. In 1833 Parliament appropriated the first money to aid these church schools. The Forster Act of 1870 established the first public elementary schools. Another act in 1902 brought all education into one comprehensive system, and in 1918, by the Fisher Act, the system was made thoroughly up-to-date. Play grounds, physical education, free medical treatment of school children, and special schools for the physically and mentally weak are some of the features provided by

the act. But private schools still occupy a considerable place in English education.

The smaller countries of North Europe have been most liberal in the support of public education. In South and East Europe the development of universal state-controlled education has been too recent to have affected to any great extent either the literacy of the people or the traditional instruction.

The schools of America, like all schools, were originally the agents of religion. They were founded by Protestants and modeled on the English grammar schools of the seventeenth century, so that Puritan ideas have been most important in the development of the present educational system. The Massachusetts law of 1642 which directed the officials of each town to ascertain if the children were being taught "to read and to understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country," was the first recognition by a public legislative body that all children should be taught to read. Another law in 1647 provided that each town of fifty householders should appoint a teacher of reading and writing, and that every town of one hundred householders should establish a grammar school to fit youths for the university. These laws represented the first efforts among English-speaking peoples to require communities to maintain schools. Girls, of course, were not allowed to attend them. In the middle colonies, where the religious sects were more numerous, no such drastic state action was possible, and the schools were developed in the local parishes. Pay schools in the larger cities afforded higher training. In Virginia tutors were maintained in the homes of the planters, while the poor were left uneducated or were placed in pauper schools. In time these local schools of the seventeenth century passed under the control of political districts, religious interest declined, science and literature began to find a place in the courses of study, and aristocratic rank ceased to be recognized in their organization. In short, at the end of the colonial period the Old World school had been transformed into an American school.

The Development of the American School System

The Colonial Schools

The Constitution does not mention education, but the Ordinance of 1787 which organized the Northwest Territory provides that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Later, provision was made to set aside the sixteenth section of every township for the maintenance of schools within the township. Every state admitted since 1802, except Maine and West Virginia, which were made from old states, and Texas, which had full title to its own lands, has made this grant to schools. Considerably more than one hundred million acres of the public domain have been given for edu-

Free Public Schools

cation. When private support failed, the older states levied taxes for school purposes. In general the New England settlers, city dwellers, and intelligent workingmen, led by men of high vision, fought and won the battle for public education. Thomas Jefferson was an early and earnest advocate of free public schools. He believed in education, not only as a necessity for democratic citizenship, but also as a human right. New Jersey in 1871 was the last of the northern states to abolish the system which required parents to pay fees when their children attended school.

The
Recent
Develop-
ment of
American
Schools

The State
School
Systems

The
Admission
of Women
and Girls

The
Profession-
alizing of
Teaching

The
Enrich-
ment
of the
Course
of Study

The
Education
of the
American
People

While free public education was being established, educational methods and the course of study were subjected to a revision. European theorists and practitioners inspired these changes. Henry Barnard and Horace Mann labored to centralize the administration of the local schools into county and state systems. Michigan adopted a state administration for schools in 1835, and founded the first of the state universities in 1837. Massachusetts organized the first normal schools in 1838. The high school appeared during the same decade. Since 1850 the elementary schools have been reorganized, secondary education has become nationwide, and college and university training has been placed within the reach of every ambitious boy or girl. One of the outstanding features of this development was the admission of girls and women to schools of all grades. The need for trained teachers brought the organization of many normal schools. The professionalizing of teaching has gone steadily forward, with the result that the classroom efficiency and general administrative effectiveness of the schools has been greatly increased. Accompanying these changes came the enrichment of the curriculum. To the original "three R's" were added, in the later part of the nineteenth century, the library, the laboratory, the shop, the stage, and the gymnasium. There is no worthy interest which present schools do not seek to serve, all in the generous purpose of enhancing individual development in order that social life may be enriched. With this widening of educational opportunities and improvement of teaching practice, there came as an expansion of the original attitude that education ought to be public and free, the belief that attendance should be compulsory for children between seven and fifteen years of age. The local organization and support of the schools has prevented these changes from taking place evenly in all parts of the country.

The American people have a sublime faith in education as a means to individual achievement and social progress. The steady development of the schools has meant a corresponding growth of literacy among them. The illiterate is one who can neither read nor write and is therefore dependent upon

his haphazard personal contacts for a knowledge of men and things. In comparison with European countries America has a medium amount of illiteracy. The lowest percentages are found in the Scandinavian countries, Bohemia, Germany, and Switzerland. In Italy the illiterate portion numbers about 40 per cent of the population, in Spain about 50 per cent, and in Russia about 80 per cent. France, England, and Holland have an amount about equal to that in the United States. In 1920 among our population over ten years of age, 6 per cent of the men and 5.9 per cent of the women were found to be illiterate. The native whites showed an illiteracy of only about 2.7 per cent for men and 2.3 per cent for women. Among those of mixed foreign and native parents it was less than one per cent, and among the negroes about 23 per cent. The urban population had an illiteracy of 4.4 per cent, the rural population of 7.7 per cent. The middle-west agricultural states with people of native and North European stocks had the highest percentage of literates. The South and East had the greatest number of illiterates.

**Literacy
and Il-
literacy**

The existence of this illiteracy is, however, only a part of the educational deficiency of the American people. The complexities of modern society and the responsibilities of democratic citizenship demand a high level of education, and this manifestly the American people do not possess. It is often said that "we are a nation of sixth-graders." Figures drawn from the examination of soldiers called by the selective draft revealed that only 30 per cent of them had passed beyond this grade, and that not more than a third of the entire population had had an elementary school education. Yet these percentages for 1918 represent a great advance over the conditions existing forty years ago, for in 1880, only one per cent of the school population reached the high school, and in 1870, only one in a thousand attended college. In 1880, only 40 per cent of the population of high school age was in regular attendance, and the average school year was only 130 days. But even in 1918 only 56 per cent of the school population was actually attending, and the average school year was as short as 160 days.

**"A Nation
of Sixth
Graders"**

Those between the ages of five and twenty years are classed as the school population. In 1920 they numbered 32,250,870, of whom 64.3 per cent were in school sometime during the year 1919-1920. Of those between seven and thirteen, the elementary school age, 15,306,793, or 90.6 per cent were in attendance. This was an increase of 5.1 per cent over 1910. Utah with 73 per cent of her school population enrolled had the highest rate of attendance, and Louisiana with 53 per cent was the lowest. In seven states, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, Iowa, Delaware, Idaho, and Utah, more than 95 per cent of those of elementary school age were

**The
School
Popula-
tion**

attending. In colleges, universities, and normal schools about 500,000 students are enrolled. They represent about 16 per cent of the population of college age, and 40 per cent of those who are deemed intellectually able to profit by college training. In recent years there has been a decided increase of enrollment of these advanced grades, amounting to 7 per cent in 1920 alone. Under present educational organization, of every 100 children who start the first grade, 70 remain in the sixth, 40 in the eighth, 10 finish high school, two go to college, and one graduates. The average American adult receives 5.96 years of schooling, 200 days being considered a school year.

The
Teaching
Corps

The teaching force of the nation now consists of about 600,000 persons. Of these at least 250,000 are under 21 years of age, and more than half of them have received only a high school education. About 100,000 new teachers enter the school systems each year, and more than half of them have no professional training. Such teachers can only experiment in a crude fashion with the raw material of society. The situation is worse in the rural schools. In 1910 some 35 per cent of the teachers of Kansas, and some 40 per cent in Iowa, lacked professional training, but in more recent years this condition has been improved. The average teaching career is not more than six years, after which the women pass on to the home and the men go into the business world. The teaching profession is the least stable of all the professions, and in view of its social function and the investment required to secure a high quality of training, the most poorly paid. In 1920 the average salary of a rural teacher was \$479, of the city teacher \$854, and of the high school instructor, \$1,099. These salaries are lower than the wage earnings of skilled labor. Such conditions account for the instability of the teaching profession, and hinder the building up of a trained corps of teachers.

The
Cost
of the
Schools

It would seem that faith in education as a means of individual and social growth has not brought with it the concentrated attention which the schools deserve, for although approximately one billion dollars are spent annually for educational purposes, yet that sum is only equal to the nation's candy bill, and only one-half of the sum spent for tobacco! At present the cities spend \$6 per capita on the schools, the states and private agencies \$3, and the federal government six cents. The average yearly cost for one child's schooling is \$50. At present Alabama spends \$63 for a child's entire education, and Montana pays \$637 for all of the schooling it provides for each child, while the whole United States averages \$252 for each child. For those who finish high school the cost is \$515. Educational costs among states, quite low as an average, vary greatly, and are insufficient in view of the increasing de-

mands which are being made upon the schools for instruction in vocations and citizenship.

From this brief survey of literacy, school attendance, and educational costs it is evident that public education has reached a critical stage in its development. To relieve congestion the erection of specially designed and more sightly buildings has been undertaken. Indeed, if the church and the castle may be deemed the architectural symbols of medieval civilization, these new school buildings, together with recent factory structures and office buildings, may be considered monuments of contemporary culture. Instruction is being improved by steadily advancing the requirements for teachers. Readjustment of existing tax apportionments is necessary to meet the problem of increasing maintenance costs. The American people have set the schools to the task of serving the entire rising generation. No halting in educational expansion can be consistent with this demand.

Of all the elements in the present social heritage, educational institutions, ideas, and practices appear to be the most fluid. Certainly no others are undergoing such rapid and far-reaching changes.

In the past, decentralization of administration has operated for educational progress. In the freedom from unified control many cities, towns, and local districts have been permitted to undertake experiments and programs which by their satisfactory results have inspired others to follow them. Until recently centralization of the American school system has existed only in the ideals which have inspired the educational leaders of the nation, but at present there is a determined movement to create a cabinet position for education and to coördinate the various state systems into a national organization. One of the chief objects of the movement is to further education in the backward states. A centralization similar to that in France and Germany would destroy the local enterprise and vision which have built the state systems. The dangers of an inefficient and irresponsible bureaucratic control certainly ought not to be overlooked by those who see only the lagging programs for school improvement in various parts of the nation.

More important for the future, however, than either centralization or programs for backward states, are the more fundamental changes appearing in the schools themselves.

The new psychology considers the human being as a bundle of needs, capacities, and impulses, which it is the function of education to satisfy and express. Furthermore, the discovery of the variations in the inherited endowments has altered the concept of the individual's ability to benefit by educational opportunities.

The
Crisis in
American
Education

Present
Tendencies in
Educational
Development

The
Centralization of
Administration

**The New
Psychology, the
Student,
and the
Course
of Study**

The effect of this new view of human nature has been to shift the object of education over to the concrete task of training students to acquire skills and habits which are of general use in every-day life. Selective promotion on the basis of intellectual ability has resulted from the second idea. Although present "intelligence tests" are not infallible, they do exhibit the difference between subnormal and very keen minds. The feeble-minded and generally low students are now being provided with instruction suited to their mental capacities. Likewise the very bright pupils are being allowed more rapid advancement through the grades. On the whole, the new psychology has given educators a more vital appreciation of the task involved in training the child, and a better understanding of the needs of different individuals. As the application of the psychological method goes on, there should be developed both a more serviceable curriculum and better teaching.

The increased demands on the child's time due to the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum have raised the problem of revising its entire content. Tradition and college entrance examinations long imposed the classics upon the secondary schools, and the elementary grades merely added subjects to the detriment of the common branches. Faced with this situation, educators have attempted to apply the scientific method to the problem of selecting the subject-matter within special fields as well as testing the value of many entire subjects as at present taught. This method involves the statistical study of the attainments of large numbers of pupils, their performances under several treatments of the same materials, and the experimentation with new teaching methods. The aim of this attempt is to secure an economy of time in learning the essentials of the general subjects, in order that more opportunity may be given to each student to develop his special interests and abilities.

**The Ex-
pansion of
Secondary
Education**

The expansion of the secondary schools has been the outstanding educational development of recent years. Since 1890 the number of such schools has increased from 5,000 to 16,000 and the number of students from 300,000 to 2,000,000. In spite of the increased enrollment, there are at present 57 per cent of those between the age of ten and seventeen years and 85 per cent of those between seventeen and twenty-one years, who are out of school. The task of the secondary school is to provide training for some 10,000,000 American youths. The long survival of the academic classics has hindered the performance of this task. A great many of the students cannot go to college, and their real needs are first, vocational guidance, and second, sound education in the essentials of social life. Not only must they be given information about life, but they must also be aroused to their responsibilities and made critical of existing mal-

practices in social, economic, and political organization. The high school must become "the people's college." Under present conditions only the children of the property owning, mercantile, and professional groups receive the full benefits of these opportunities. Junior high schools are serving to carry more and more children into the full high school course. At the same time the junior college is beginning to make its appearance as an advance over the latter. Secondary education promises to give the masses a more generous training than the primitive "three R's" or the ancient classics. It visions an enlightened citizenry.

As a result of the general educational advance, the colleges and universities have been forced to expand the traditional "liberal arts" course. In a way the present college has become a vocational school of the highest type. The old idea that college is a place to acquire something vaguely known as "culture" has given way to the notion that advanced work should contribute to the economic reward of the individual. The medieval university included colleges of law, medicine, and theology as well as liberal arts. In the nineteenth century colleges of engineering, dentistry, and pharmacy were added to the original group. Recent years have brought further additions in colleges of agriculture, commerce, business administration, and education, and at present new schools of collegiate rank appear to be forming for journalism, social work, public administration, art, and home economics. The complexity of modern life demands highly trained experts, and in offering such diversified instruction the colleges and universities are meeting a legitimate demand. There are obvious dangers, however, in narrow specialization. It is too often true that the professional man has a deficient knowledge or appreciation of the fundamentals of human life and society. His specialized training fails to give him a view of the unity of service which maintains life and of which his own service is but a part. This fault in the education of specialists is being met in two ways, first by lengthening the period of training, and second by including courses designed to secure a broad outlook upon life.

A second class of new institutions for advanced work includes research schools or "post-graduate" colleges. Their function is unique. The "social heritage" grows with additions made by inventive and inquiring persons and the welfare of society depends in a very definite way upon the adaptation that is maintained between the material and immaterial cultures. These research schools exist for the purpose of altering and adapting the elements of the prevailing culture. They cultivate "originality" and thrive upon the "critical attitude." "Originality" begets new discoveries and inventions which by adding to the social herit-

Post-
Graduate
Schools

age affect the conditions of life. The "critical attitude" tests the truth of existing knowledge and the value of customary practices. Since traditional knowledge and practices may be wrong, and may encumber society with abuses and distresses, these research institutions in setting themselves the task of instructing the most highly endowed of the population and of turning their superior abilities to the work of adding to and altering the social heritage, perform an invaluable service. In this service they are working directly for social improvement. As their discoveries and recommendations filter down through the lower grades of the educational system or are taken directly into the practices of industry, business, professions, and public administration, the general ways and means of living are changed. It is hoped that this change is always for the better. In these institutions, modern civilization is attempting to organize the inventiveness and curiosity upon which cultural growth depends, and by conscious control to secure the orderly development of general well-being.

**Extra-
Institu-
tional
Education**

Formal education begins in the pre-school and ends in the post-graduate college, but informal education continues from the moment of birth to the moment of death. Previous ages took little thought of formal education, and less of the informal. The present age, by visioning the services that a general schooling may render, has been awakened to the possibilities that exist for the development of the latter. As a result several institutions have developed outside the established educational system which in function serve genuine educational needs. The stream of news-sheets, periodicals, and books which flows from the printing presses carries the facts and ideas which are too recent and perhaps too unrelated for organization in the formal course of study. Nevertheless these facts and ideas are the essential factors in the intellectual life of the adult population. The public press—from the scare-head to the advertising display, from the insipid novel to the boring statistical report—is the greatest single institution for the continuous education of the people.

**The
Newspaper**

**The
Public
Library**

Beside this never-ending stream of printed matter stand the store-houses of accumulated knowledge—the museums, the art galleries, and the public libraries. As yet the first two are confined to the larger cities, but the latter are nation-wide. In the United States Benjamin Franklin was instrumental in founding the first circulating library, and lately Andrew Carnegie by his bequests has made possible the rapid extension of library opportunities. Public libraries serve every element of the population, the child, the ignorant, and the college trained, and in their newest aspects they are ceasing to be mere store-houses of knowledge and are forwarding genuine programs of education. Per-

sonal initiative is the only stimulus necessary to the seizure of this opportunity for self-development. As libraries become more and more accessible, the living portions of the knowledge accumulated by men has a greater possibility of becoming the possession of the people. In fact, the public library is on the way to becoming the "post-graduate school" for the masses.

The movement for "workers' education" is a new development in extra-institutional education, and with as many as 70 per cent of the population leaving school at the end of the elementary course there is a great need for such continued instruction. Some cities have undertaken to supply this in night schools, but the attempts have been inadequate. This present development, which is a phase of the Labor Movement, aims to give the working-classes a training in economics and a knowledge of social relationships, and it also aspires to develop from the workers' ranks leaders who will be fitted to deal with problems of laboring men, industry, and society. The workers' education movement is another of the developments which promises to contribute something to the content of emerging culture. The press, the library, and this workers' education movement provide for the adults who are alive to their needs and responsibilities the means of attaining that knowledge which is necessary to an effective participation in the life of their generation.

**Workers'
Education**

It is in a current of developing ideas and changing facts that man now lives, and to them he must respond. By formal education society attempts to equip him with that knowledge and those types of response which will enable him to make the most effective adjustment both for his personal interests and for social well-being. In this attempt appears a new social problem. What is the proper knowledge? What are the responses best suited to promote well-being? Who is going to select this knowledge and determine these responses? The answers to these questions have yet to be made. Obviously, if special interest can control such selections, a slavery more base than that of ownership can be established. European nationalism has already prostituted schools to serve a virulent form of patriotism. The Russian Bolsheviks have discovered in education a means of developing in the Russian youth a belief in communist principles, a belief which the present adult population does not have. Propaganda has found the chief object of its efforts in the selection of this knowledge and these responses. The disagreement between the adherents of religious and public schools is but a manifestation of the problem. The struggle for social mastery, it appears, has been raised to a new level. Originally it was the man with the club who ruled—he became the military despot. Recent centuries have witnessed the overthrow of the military caste by those who possess economic power. The con-

**Propa-
ganda
and the
Schools**

temporary world approaches the new contest. The coming ruler will be the one who can determine the facts and ideas which are presented to developing minds. Other ages have asserted dogmatically the truth of certain ideas, and have enforced acceptance, but today the methods are more subtle. They flatter the individual by insisting that he thinks for himself, but they select the facts with which his mind is filled. Obviously, with selected facts the probability of reaching a given conclusion is greatly enhanced. Propaganda agencies which seek to revise school curricula should be looked upon with high disfavor. Only enlightened social vision and scientific methods should be allowed to guide any renovation of school materials. The full weight of all human experience and knowledge must stand against the attempt to subvert universal education to special interests.

**New
Views
of the
Function
of Edu-
cation**

This problem exhibits the need for reconsideration of the general objectives of education. What shall they be—to create contented working men, enthusiastic patriots, religious devotees, or full-living human beings? Recent educators have been much interested in this testing of their function in society, with the result that they have come down from the generalization that their function is to render the vague service of building character to the belief that it is a much more real effort to instruct students in certain elements for general living. The following summary may be looked upon as a fair statement of the minimum service which present opinion considers that schools ought to render. To each student should be given:

1. A correct knowledge of his native language.
2. Sufficient arithmetic to keep accurate personal accounts.
3. Specific habits which make for proper individual and social behavior, such as the manners, customs and usages of society.
4. Specific habits which promote individual and community health.
5. The information and habits which make for good citizenship, such as proper forms of action in times of public danger, respect for law, and the methods of controlling public authority.
6. The basic facts of history and geography which serve to place the individual and his society in proper relation to others.
7. A knowledge of the general types of labor fundamental to all human endeavor and their specific application to some practical vocation.
8. Some instruction in the appreciation of the finer human achievements in art, literature, music, and science.

From any consideration of educational functions, however, the building of character cannot be dismissed. The new psychology has shed much light on the raw elements of human action, and exposed the learning process to a more certain view. As a result, character education has ceased to be mere indoctrination of moral

principles, and has become a special field of instruction with its own technique. Since character represents the collective social responses and reactions of an individual, present educators have emphasized again the rôle of social activity in all learning, and especially in the development of considerate actions and high ideals.

For ages men lived in their social environment without recognizing its relation to their beliefs and ideas. The modern world has learned that such beliefs and ideas are acquired, and that the process of acquisition can be controlled. The revolutionary changes in communication have made the whole body of human thought more fluid. The great advances in science and art have increased its content. Thus the individual mind is given the opportunity for a rich development. Universal public education is both a response to the need of youth for guidance in acquiring this augmented body of beliefs and ideas, and a recognition of youth's right to become acquainted with the achievements and activities of the race. Universal public education, free and in most cases compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fifteen, is one of the most revolutionary ideas of modern times. Only the past generation has come under its general operation, and the present generation is the first to receive the full effects of its existence. Whereas the ancient and medieval world left the multitudes in the ignorance and superstition which begot obedience and acceptance, the modern world has come to believe that only as the capacities and abilities of all men are developed and utilized can society become more justly organized. The results of universal public education are yet in the future. The assimilation of man's scientific and historical knowledge of life and society into the common mind of the race is the service which such an undertaking as the education of all persons, weak and strong, rich and poor, must attempt. In the performance of this service, the best of human culture can be rendered more effective in the ordinary day-by-day life of men. The school is the greatest single agent of social development.

The
Social
Signifi-
cance of
Universal
Public
Education

SELECTED READINGS FOR STUDENTS

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Case. Chap. 13, Education and social heredity.

Chap. 19, Primitive art.

Goldenweiser. Chap. 9, Art.

Kroeber. Chap. 5, Language.

Chap. 11, The spread of the alphabet.

Stawell and Marvin. Chap. 2, Hellenism.

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- Thorndike. Chap. 20, The medieval revival of learning.
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 Chap. 18, France, the troubadours and the beginnings of prose.
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 Chap. 29, The awakening in science.
 Chap. 32, The triumphs of mathematics.
 Chap. 33, The rise of modern philosophy.
 Chap. 37, Germany and music.
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 Chap. 16, Socializing education.
 Chap. 17, Present tendencies in education.
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CHAPTER VIII

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: RELIGION

**Man's
Religious
Nature**

With that high degree of intelligence which chiefly distinguishes man from the other forms of life he is able to achieve an experience of existence far greater than they. Man alone comprehends the relation of the present to the past, and he alone has a concept of the future. Man looks forward and backward, always confronted with the uncertainty of life, and at the same time with a sense of its duration. Persistent change and persistent existence confront him. As he seeks to understand the facts of this existence, to find his own place in its complexity, and to discover its unity, the mystery of it surpasses the power of his mind, and there grow within him the feelings of fear and wonder. Primitive men everywhere felt that overpowering presence of mystery. It resided in the sublime natural wonders: falling water, towering mountain, roaring storm, and ever-returning sun. The same mysterious power was inherent in the arm of the mighty warrior, and in the skill of the most cunning priest. Reverberating echoes, shadows, dreams, and sleep—all these convinced him of the existence of an unseen other self. Did he not possess a "soul"? The crazed, the frantic, and the sick proved that evil powers lurked about him. The exaltation of mob frenzy transported him out of the dull routine of daily life. The indescribable forebodings and desires of adolescence stirred his mind and body to strange excitations. Man was not always his bodily self: the living died, and yet they returned in his dreams. The uncontrolled elements swept him about in the turn of the seasons, the destructive lashings of storms, of floods, and of earthquakes. Such experiences overpowered him. Man, himself a part of existence, was at the same time compelled to question this existence, to believe in another life, to long for the reality which endures through change. These questions and longings united with his awe and wonder, his fear and hope, and his periods of depression and exaltation, to set him worshiping the all-pervading mystery. Power, unseen but ever-present, provides the stimulus to man's religious nature. It is power that he has always worshiped, the power that is beyond him. There is no one religious instinct. There is in human experience that which

throws about existence the shrouds of emotion from which man draws his sense of mysterious power. What man experiences, he feels must exist; the mystery of all existence is the complement to the mystery of his own being.

In the beginning there were men and mysteries, and as a result no race has ever been found without its demons or deities that had to be propitiated or worshiped. Religious beliefs and practices have always held a dominating place in the social heritage. They have entered into the family, economic, educational, political, and social life of man. Primitive man neither experienced anything nor took action of any kind without giving thought to the influence or sanction of supernatural powers. He had no other explanations for the phenomena of life. When drought came, the Aztecs propitiated their gods with human sacrifices. The wisest of the Greeks consulted oracles. On every occasion which demanded political or military action the Romans consulted the omens for evidences of the favorable attitude of the gods. Medieval gilds, towns, orders, and states had their patron saints. And Christianity has played such a rôle in the life of the western world that "Christendom" is often used as another name for western civilization.

**Religious
Beliefs
and
Practices
in the
Social
Heritage**

Strictly defined, religion is concerned with the relation of man to the mysterious power which moves behind natural existence, the supernatural power. Its function is to express life according to the will of the being or beings whom man conceives to be the ruler or rulers of all existence. Although religion is always concerned with this being of one or many forms, it is not limited to dealings with the supernatural alone. Morals, the principles of the relation of man to man, are a part of all advanced religions. But ceremonies, sacrifices, and rituals are often more important in religion than either morals or worship. Religions also evolve priests and churches. As a result, the development of religions exhibits not only the formation of ideas about supernatural existence, but also the emergence of moral codes, and the organization of the forms and agents of religious expression.

The modern world is confronted with two sources of origin for the religious beliefs and practices which are a part of present culture—divine revelation and natural growth. Christians claim that their system is such a divine revelation, and Mohammedians advance similar claims for theirs. Other religions are recognized as developments that have grown with the other parts of culture. All, however,—revealed or historical—attempt to express and to satisfy man's religious nature.

In primitive times, as has already been pointed out, man found many experiences to inspire, awe, and thrill him. At first the

The
Develop-
ment of
Religious
Ideas in
Primitive
Times

The
World of
Spirits

Gods
Like
Men

Souls

Ancestor
Worship

Polythe-
ism

source of these emotions was merely an all-pervading something,—"mana"—a power that moved in him and all other forms of existence. He was keenly aware of his environment, but woefully weak in understanding it. To bump his head on the limb of a tree was to be struck by a spirit whom he had offended. All the world was alive. This primitive belief has been called "animatism." From this general sense of the aliveness of existence man advanced to the finding of special spirits for many different forms of existence. Trees, rocks, rivers, animals, summer, winter, harvest, drought—every natural phenomena has had its spirit. Almost any place might be the residence of a spirit, or many spirits, or even a god if it was a little strange and weird. Such extraordinary places came to be reserved as sacred for the gods. This differentiation of the general spirit into individual spirits is known as "animism." At the same time the spirits came to take on forms like those of animals and men. They became good or evil, developed needs and desires, and exhibited vices—all in a manner quite human. Man everywhere has shown a tendency to create gods in his own image by personifying the spirits which he believed to live about him. "Anthropomorphism" is the name given to this ascribing of human forms and qualities to spirits. It is a common element in all primitive religions. Just as gods became human, so did men become gods. Ancestors, usually great heroes, were deified. When the ancestor was identified with a family, he became an object of family worship; when he was identified with a tribe, he became a tribal god. Ancestor worship has played a great rôle among the religions of the world, and remains today the chief cult of China. Other men, although they did not become gods, came at least to be members of the spirit world. Man's soul—the other self that ranged far in dreams, that peered up from reflecting waters, that trailed the living in the shadow—lived after death. Burial remains from the Stone Ages show how the dead were prepared to carry on the usual activities of life in the hereafter. Weapons, ornaments, and utensils were placed in the grave with the body so that the soul might take them to the spirit world. When the multitude of spirits came to be identified, named, and ranked, each with special functions, services, and shrines, "polytheism" had superseded the more primitive spirit religions. The mythologies of Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia show us such polytheistic religions. A great god ruled men, spirits, and even the lesser gods, but all played a part in worldly and human affairs. Olympus was on the border of Greece, and the gods were always near. Supernatural powers were never far away from early civilized men.

Such spirits and gods, however, had little to do with true morals,

As the gods were capricious and unmoral, the decisions of right and wrong which were judged according to their favor, were entirely matters of the deities' pleasure or displeasure. Man's desires or rights did not seem to enter into the determination of the spirits' feelings. Primitive man was thus quite like a child who has not learned the meaning of right and wrong. The spirits' whims were his only guide. Notwithstanding this unmoral nature of early religions, man developed very strict codes of conduct. As he went about life that act became wrong which harmed life, and that act became right which served life, especially the life of the group rather than that of the individual. Of course man was not certain either of the harm or of the service that these acts might do, but he enforced them with a rigid social pressure. Group vengeance was always ready to fall upon the one who violated such codes. The simple acts of life were regulated by folkways, *i. e.*, the usual habits of doing things within the group. The general forms of group behavior were organized into customs. The forbidden acts, especially, came to be sanctioned by uniting the supernatural element to the force of social pressure. Men believed that the gods abhorred certain acts and that they would enforce their disapproval with dire punishments. Such forbidden acts were "tabu," *i. e.*, absolutely prohibited by the gods. All uncivilized people tend to regulate their social intercourse by such stringent rules. The tabu is the great moral instrument, and accident, group experience, or individual caprice serve to establish such prohibitions. For example, one tribe in Africa refused to take matches from white men because the first member of the tribe to do so died very shortly after he had taken a match. His death caused the tribe to place a tabu on the white man's "firestick." Among the Todas of South India a man who is a dairyman must never marry; neither must he touch the dead, nor cut his hair and nails, nor enter a dwelling with a woman. For us such a dairyman would seem a failure, but the religious beliefs of the Todas tabu all changes.

Primitive
Man
was Un-
moral

Folkways

Customs

Tabus

Tabus, the most effective means of enforcing ideas of right and wrong, are only the stringent forms of the more general factors governing moral relationships, namely, folkways, customs, conventions, and traditions. Traditions represent the sanction of age-long practice; folkways, customs, and conventions remain as the common types of familiar behavior. Together all of these means of enforcing individual conformity to group behavior unite to establish the largest part of every social heritage. And nothing on earth varies from group to group so much as these methods of regulating social intercourse. Americans greet others with a hand shake, Frenchmen kiss cheeks, Africans rub noses, and the Chinese

Tradi-
tions

shake their own hands. Eskimos kill their aged parents, Chinese worship theirs when dead, and Fiji Islanders commit suicide rather than grow ugly with age. Christians remove their hats in church, and Mohammedans take off their shoes. Indians smack their lips to show that food is good, while Europeans and Americans regard all sounds made in eating as vulgar. Similar sanctions exist for all kinds of behavior. The customary method appears to be the natural way of doing things, so that the customs of other people always seem peculiar, and the things which are a part of one's own social heritage are learned as easily as the language. Each person's moral ideas are chiefly determined by the practices of his group, and immorality largely consists in breaking folkways, customs, tabus, and traditions.

The
Gods
Learned
Morals
from
Men

When the gods came to rule life their commandments came to be these prohibitions and sanctions established by the people, and the deities of primitive times were, like the men themselves, unmoral. The gods became truly moral only as man evolved his own morality. The gods may thus be considered as having learned truth, justice, fair play, and honesty from men.

Ceremonial
Religion

In a world ruled by the caprice of such spirits the all-important service of worship was to keep man on good terms with them. Man had to be continually on guard, lest a demon steal into his body to make its owner sick or an ancestral ghost return to punish some offense against his memory. Any violation of custom, tradition, or tabu might precipitate the wrath of the gods in the form of drought, crop failure, or defeat in war. Thus all early religions were ceremonial and all men practiced ceremonial acts to placate the supernatural powers. "Fetish," as such practices are called, consists of mumbling simple formulas and wearing chains, teeth, wooden plugs, or feathers. "Magic" goes farther and involves a special knowledge and a special agent to direct the favor of the spirits. Incantations, dances, charms, and exhortations are joined in one process of breaking the evil spell or winning the aid of deities. With the appearance of persons claiming special knowledge of the spirit world and having intimate relations with the gods, one of the great social classes began its development. The early priest was first a dancer, a medicine man, or a caretaker of sacred places. He had to prove his power by success in dealing with spirits. As religions developed he became a guardian of sacred writings, customs, and traditions. For ages he contested with the warrior class for the control of society. Where he won, life tended to become one continuous round of ceremonies, prayers, and ritualistic practices, and the common man was a slave to the altar. Under such rule the belief which was essential to virtue was tested by attendance at ceremonies. In the performances of

Fetish

Magic

Priests, a
Great
Social
Class

these medicine men, priests, and prophets religious practices became more than magic. The old practices of carrying food to the graves of the dead were changed into sacrifices which represented either the worshipper's trust in the power of the gods or a common intercourse with them, communion between gods and man. For ages such services were performed in natural places sacred to deities. Where natural gas issued from the side of Mount Parnassus the Greeks had a shrine, Delphi. There is an Indian altar at one end of the great natural bridge in Utah. In time such sacred places were housed in temples, where priests, ritual, and popular devotion united in a service to the spirits of the mysterious world that existed beyond the earth.

Sacrifices

The Temple

When all of these diverse elements of men's beliefs were systematized into a body of doctrine and practice, organized religion, as known in the modern world, made its appearance.

When the dawn of history broke over the East, the Egyptians were worshipping the Sun God, Ra, and the life-giving power, Osiris, who was a deification of their friendly river, the Nile. Belief in life after death impelled them to a careful preparation of the dead for their wait until the final judgment. Far away to the east the Babylonians reared a great tower-temple to their Air God, and performed services to please him and other deities of the earth, sky, and waters. This temple-tower was the ancestor of present church steeples. Babylonian traditions of the great flood became the source of the Biblical narrative of Noah's Ark. These Babylonian gods cared much for the rich and little for the poor. Life after death was a mere existence in a dusty shady region below the earth's surface. About the year 1000 B. C., there came among the Persians (a people who finally conquered all of the Asiatic regions of early civilization) a teacher with a religious message. Zoroaster taught that all existence was a conflict between good and evil, and that it behooved every man to take his place in the ranks of the good—which means that Zoroaster taught a moral religion. His evil god, Ahrim, survived to become the devil of the Old Testament.

The Religions of the Ancient Civilizations

Of Egypt and Babylon

Zoroaster, the First Religious Teacher of Historical Times

Across the Ægean, the Greeks had polytheistic beliefs. Homer's poems give the earliest glimpse of Greek religion. The gods were numerous, capricious, and not without vices. Although Zeus claimed a sovereignty over Olympus and the world, his authority was not absolute. In the stories of Greek mythology these early beliefs have come to grace European literature with fancy and beauty—to furnish every wood with nymphs, to set Pan dancing over the hills, to mark every new love with Cupid's arrow, and to inspire each art by its appropriate muse. But intellectual Greece tended to give up the old gods. Even Zeus lost his personality to

The Religion of Ancient Greece

become a "principle" or an "idea" of infinite reality. To the Greeks life after death was a shadowy existence in Hades. There, in later Greek belief, punishment was meted out to the wicked, while the saved were transported to the Elysian fields to live in eternal bliss. Salvation in the Elysian fields was possible only to those initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis or the cult of Demeter and Dionysus, the life-giving and the harvest gods. Following Plato, who found reality to be in "ideas" which existed beyond the world of sense, the philosophers formulated several concepts of man's relation to the power that moved through all existence. The Stoics thought that the evidence of design in the natural world was proof of the existence of God. They taught that reason, when following the ultimate principle or law in the universe, was man's best moral guide, and that all men who conformed to reason were brothers. The Epicureans looked upon the world as a pleasant place wherein man should find happiness rather than suffering. They gave up the idea of a divine creation and thought of existence as a chance arrangement of atoms. They believed that man should make the most of this world before worrying about the next. Another group called the Neo-Platonists asserted that the best world existed beyond the reach of sense and reason. It was to be reached only in a state of ecstasy. Thus Plato's "idea" became a spiritual form. Faith and vision brought a communion with this absolute reality, a communion in which reason was supplanted by belief, and virtue was achieved by an abhorrence of sensual pleasures. Clearly, all of these Pagan religions offered little hope to mortal man. Even the Neo-Platonists offered him an immortality which was only a vague, formless principle of universal existence. Their "absolute" was a thing of yearning and belief, not a beneficent and just God, and yet it was the highest spiritual vision of Greek civilization.

The
Philo-
sophic
Religions
of Later
Greeks

The
Hebrews
and Their
God,
Jahweh

While the different civilizations were developing about the Near East, a desert people settled about the western end of the road which led from Egypt and the Mediterranean coast to Babylon. About 1400 B. C., these Hebrew tribes found their way to Canaan, where they encountered a civilization which they partially adopted. Recurring famines compelled them to migrate to Egypt, but after a time they returned under the leadership of Moses. He gave to them the table of laws which had been revealed to him by Jahweh, their national god. The Hebrews and their religion, too, had to struggle for a place in Canaan. In time the older "baals," or lords, were deposed, but it was not until the final victory of the Hebrews over the Canaanites that Jahweh's position as the one supreme god in the land was established. Amos, the first of the shepherd prophets, asserted that Jahweh demanded righteousness

of men rather than sacrifices. He was preaching against the luxury of the northern tribes, the Israelites, whose place on the road from the Mediterranean to Babylon gave a greater prosperity than did the poor hills of Judah around Jerusalem. When the Assyrian menace to the Hebrew independence became serious, Isaiah declared that Jahweh was a just God, and that the Assyrians were the "Hand of the Lord" punishing the Hebrews for their sins and idolatry. While the Jews were in captivity to the Assyrians and Chaldeans, Jahweh became the god of their salvation. Although his temple was leveled and his people enslaved, Jahweh found a new temple in their hearts—he became more than ever the supreme god of the universe. Upon the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem in 539 B. C., the priests reissued the law, now the first five books of the Bible, and rebuilt the temple. At the same time the people began to worship outside the temple in synagogues where they themselves, rather than priests, directed the worship. The faith of the Jews in Jahweh not only became a thing of the heart, but also was shown as a form of personal behavior. Jahweh became the god of a worshiping people rather than that of a priestly cult. After the death of Alexander the Great an attempt was made to destroy Judaism. In this crisis the followers of Jahweh did not lose faith in him, but came to believe in another world where earthly suffering would be rewarded: thus the meaning of martyrdom was made clear. As the centuries turned, the tribal god of Israel and Judah was transformed into the one supreme, just, and righteous God. Not like Zeus of the Greeks, who became an intangible principle of absolute reality, was this one supreme God, for more and more he became a personality, definite and powerful, a ruler of existence, and a judge of men. A religion with such a single God is known as "monotheism."

The Hebrews never ceased to believe in the salvation of their nation. Jahweh was to create for them a "kingdom of heaven" and to restore to them the mastery of the world. So in the face of worldly disaster, they continued to live under his laws, awaiting a "savior," a "messiah," a "king of kings" who would bring them to the promised kingdom.

After the nation passed under Roman rule there came among them a teacher, a carpenter from Galilee, who brought a new message from God—one of love, faith, and hope. He preached that the "kingdom of heaven" was to come on earth in the hearts of men. All men might know God, all men might experience the divine life, and all men might achieve immortality in the presence of God. The true life was one of harmony between the wills of God and man. Each man should seek God for himself, and in-

**Jahweh
and the
King-
dom of
Heaven**

**The
Birth of
Ethical
Religion**

Jesus

sofar as all men did so, the "kingdom of heaven" with "peace on earth" would be created. Jesus taught that all men, at all times, and in all places could know God, that the "kingdom of heaven" included humanity, and that self-sacrifice was the key to immortality. With Jesus, religion was not a participation in ceremonies but a life in communion with a just and loving God. Earlier religions had been ceremonial, finding the performance of rites and the acceptance of tradition to be the guides of life. Jesus taught the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." The guides of life were justice, truth, and self-denial which, if followed in daily conduct, would lead to an immortality beyond the grave. These teachings called attention to the abuses, distresses, and crimes which made earthly life miserable and unhappy. Relief from this misery and torment was to be attained only in the other world, and was to be won not by the performance of ceremonials but by living a righteous life. In these teachings came the first recognition of man's responsibility for the social consequences of his acts. Jesus was the founder of ethical religion, and that meant that after him mere participation in ritualistic observances had to be supplemented by good deeds before the religious duties were fulfilled. The Jews, who expected their promised kingdom to be one of wealth and power among the nations of the earth, refused to accept him as their long awaited "Messiah." They repudiated his teachings and, with Roman consent, had him crucified.

Christian-
ity in the
Develop-
ment of
Western
Civiliza-
tion

The
Conversion
of the
Ancient
World

The Jews as a people repudiated their Savior as a false prophet, but the few followers whom he had won caught the great light of his message and carried its radiance into the ancient world. During the first years of the new faith's existence it was a "despised sect among a despised people." The very name "Christian" originated in Antioch as a cry of derision. But since the gospel of its apostles gave a new hope to the millions who labored under the distresses of Roman aristocratic rule and under the stupor of pagan beliefs, the faith spread. The first converts were women and slaves, the dregs of humanity in the eyes of the upper classes of the time. In 30 A. D., their number was hardly more than 500; by 100 A. D., perhaps about 500,000. By 311 A. D., when Constantine legalized the religion, at least 30,000,000 from all social classes had accepted the message of the Galilean carpenter.

In the process of dissemination, the original teachings came in contact with the intellectual elements of ancient civilization and absorbed much from them. No contemporaneous account of Jesus' life or teachings has come down to the present. Paul in his *Epistles to the Thessalonians* (written about fifteen years after the crucifixion) gave the first narrative of the Christian Savior. Paul

was a Jew by birth, a Greek by education, a Roman by law, and a Christian by conviction. His composite character is symbolical of that blending of elements which characterized the development of organized Christianity. To him must be given credit for the first declaration of what were to become its theological doctrines. He and the other Apostles carried the faith throughout the empire. The first six centuries after Jesus were the formative period of the Christian theology and organization. The work begun by the Apostles was completed by the Church Fathers, among whom St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose were the most important. During this period ideas from Neo-Platonism about the atonement for sins and the universality of the church were introduced, and from common pagan worship intruded the use of images, rites, and ceremonies. The celebration of Holy Mass and of Christmas also appear to have been pagan in origin. Disagreements as to doctrine were numerous and early threatened to disturb the unity of the new faith. Mithraism, a form of Zoroaster's teaching, waged a long struggle to win the acceptance of the entire West. This opposition, together with the existence of heretics, such as the Manicheans, who saw the world only as a place of warfare between good and evil, and the Gnostics, who sought knowledge rather than salvation, aroused the Christians to the need of clarifying their doctrines. In 325 A. D., the controversy between Arius, who taught that God, the Father, was superior to the Son and that there was no identity of nature between the two, and Athanasius, who proclaimed the Trinity—"the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost"—as being a single Godhead co-eternal and co-essential in its elements, induced Emperor Constantine to call the first Ecumenical Council (a council of all the bishops) at Nicæa. The decision of the council was against Arius, whereupon the doctrine of Athanasius was issued as the creed of the church, and became known as the Nicene Creed. The Nicene Creed's definition of the Deity as one Being with three persons, became the basic principle of Christian theology, and all men who failed to accept it were faithless unbelievers—heretics. In the end a complete statement of the Christian concept of the universe, of life, and of the objects of life, was included in the various theological doctrines. This concept has been known to later centuries as the "Christian Epic."

The
Forma-
tion of
Christian
Theolog-
ical Doc-
trines

Paul

The
Church
Fathers

Elements
from
Greek
Philoso-
phy

The Trin-
ity

The
Christian
Epic

In the beginning, according to Christian theology, there was God, who in six days created the world and man out of nothing. Adam, the first man, was created perfect, but his disobedience to God brought upon him and his descendants the curse of original sin and physical death, with punishment for sins beyond the grave. God in his mercy, however, provided for man's redemption by sending His son, Jesus Christ, to suffer and to die in atonement for

man's sins. Repentance of sins and faith in Christ as the Redeemer were necessary to win eternal salvation. The wicked and impious lived in the city of the world, which was ruled by Satan, who was the arch-enemy of God and the tempter of man. The saved, on the other hand, were to live in the invisible city of God. Through all time there was to be constant warfare between the two cities until at the final judgment the saved were to be transported to Heaven, a paradise of eternal bliss, and the wicked together with Satan were to be thrown into Hell, a place of eternal torment. Such, according to the theologians of early Christian times, was to be the drama of life, death, and eternity.

The
Bible

During this same period the Bible as the divinely inspired word of God assumed its general form. The Romans and Greeks had no sacred writings, but the Hebrews followed the examples of the Orient, and gathered their history and literature into the collection which became the Old Testament. To this in time were added the books of the New Testament. No definite authorship nor date of composition can be assigned to the various books of either collection. The former was first translated from Hebrew into the Greek in the third century B. C. Since in Jesus' time Hebrew was a dead language (He spoke Aramaic), the books of the New Testament have survived only in the Greek, probably the language in which they were first written. As early as the end of the first century A. D., most of the Epistles and Gospels were in existence. By the third century A. D., the New Testament had been placed beside the Old, but the content of the former was not fixed in any definite form until 691 A. D. The influence of this Sacred Book in western civilization has been and still is inestimable. Its teachings have been woven into the very fabric of society, and its narratives, poetry, and visions have inspired much of art and literature. Its language has become a part of the every-day speech of the masses. No other single element in the social heritage has contributed so much to the mental content of western life.

The
Develop-
ment of
Church
Organiza-
tion

The
Patriarch-
ates

While this body of believers, these doctrines, and these sacred writings were taking form, the Church as an organization came into existence. At first the congregations were organized democratically under the elders of each little group, but as the faith spread the congregations in the larger cities came to be more important. Their leaders, such as the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome became the head of church organizations. In the end Rome became the seat of the Universal Church, but the eastern churches, owing to differences in forms of worship and doctrine and to the rise of Constantinople as capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, declined to recognize the Roman patriarch's supreme jurisdiction. The Mo-

hammedan conquest of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch left the headship of the eastern church—the Greek Orthodox—to the patriarch of Constantinople. Many factors contributed to the supremacy of the Roman patriarch. Two Apostles, Peter and Paul, are believed to have labored to establish Christianity at Rome and this double apostolic foundation gave the Roman congregation special prestige. By interpretation of the scriptures it was asserted that Jesus made Peter the head of the Church on earth. This Petrine theory as to the divine foundation of the Roman Church was generally accepted by the early Churchmen. That the Church was one and universal was an idea which seems to have originated as a result of Christianity's conflict with pagan heresies; but it was significant as an ecclesiastical duplication of the political centralization of the Roman Empire. The cosmopolitanism of Rome, its centralized wealth and splendor, and above all, its prestige as the capital of the ancient world, aided the Roman bishop in establishing his claims. From the beginning the whole western church was under his control, but his early relations to the patriarchs of the East seem to have been uncertain. The Roman Catholic view is that even during the first centuries the eastern churches recognized the Roman jurisdiction, while another view is that such recognition was never given. At any rate, from the third to the tenth century the Roman bishop was generally recognized as the supreme head of the Church. The final breach between the eastern and western churches was not until 1054 A. D. Until the eleventh century, although the Roman bishop claimed the title, "pope," as being uniquely his own, the usage was not restricted to him. In 1073 A. D. Gregory VII forbade the title to any other prelate.

The
Greek
Orthodox
Church

The
Roman
Catholic
Church

The
Pope

During these first centuries the teachings of Jesus were transformed into the codified doctrines of the Church, and about the seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, penance, holy eucharist, matrimony, holy orders, and extreme unction—an elaborate series of services and rituals were devised. An analysis of this sacramental system reveals how complete was the control of the Church over the life of the Middle Ages. By baptism, the child was cleansed of all "original sin" and made a Christian; by confirmation, he was received into the Church and made, with full adult responsibility, a participant in and a beneficiary of its work; by penance, the contrite sinner secured the forgiveness of his ordinary and daily sins; by the holy eucharist, *i. e.*, the partaking of the bread and wine which the priest by his blessing caused to be transformed miraculously into the flesh and blood of Christ, the sinner was given a participation in the general forgiveness of sins which God was to grant to men because of the earthly life and death

The
Western
Church
in the
Middle
Ages

of His Son; by the sacrament of matrimony, it was secured that all children were born into the jurisdiction of the Church, thus providing for the perpetuation of its control from generation to generation; by the sacrament of holy orders, the sanctified character of the priesthood was maintained through the generations, for by the laying on of hands each newly ordained priest was made the bearer of that special grace which had been given by Christ to Peter when he was chosen to organize the Church; and by extreme unction, the soul of man, sinner that he was, was ushered into purgatory to endure such punishments as he might deserve before the final admission into heaven. The Church existed to save souls from damnation and to make them ready for the bliss of heaven; therefore the Church closely guarded the soul from birth to death in earthly life. In the practices which were devised, images, relics, celibacy, monastic life, and the virtues of martyrdom and indiscriminate alms-giving won central places. Above all, however, there was organized the sacred hierarchy—from the parish priests through the bishops, the archbishops, and the cardinals to the supreme ruler of the Church, the pope—which stood between God and men. And except through the mediation of this hierarchy there was no salvation for any man, for in the words of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) the Church asserted “that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff.”¹ The Church existed by the will of God and served His earthly sovereignty. For at least ten centuries the domination of this hierarchy was the greatest factor in the development of European life.

Civiliz-
ing the
Barbari-
ans

Present civilization has grown from Greek, Hebrew, and Roman foundations, but new peoples, the Teutonic barbarians, carried out the development. In the centuries of turmoil during which they conquered Rome, the Church was the conservator of civilization. It was the sole haven for the weak, the distressed, and the endangered. A smattering of learning was kept alive by its theologians. Agriculture and industry were fostered by priestly examples. Barbarity ceased at the sanctuary's door. One by one the invading tribes were converted—the Franks in the fifth century, the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century, the Germans in the eighth, and the Prussians in the twelfth. The Russians and the lesser peoples of eastern Europe were converted by the Greek Orthodox Church. The barbarian peoples—the ingredients of modern nations—were civilized by the Church.

Under the stresses of this period (feudal anarchy was at its worst) the Church lost its essentially religious character and be-

¹ J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. II, p. 348.

came both a political and a military organization, and claimed a jurisdiction over the political state.

From the end of the seventh century the followers of Mohammed spread their faith from Arabia east to Persia and west to Spain. In the eleventh century the Church directed the power of western Christendom to a conquest of the Holy Lands from these heretical invaders. The Crusades were important not only as a great outburst of religious enthusiasm and an evidence of the papal power, but also as a reopening of western Europe's contacts with the homes of ancient civilization. From these contacts grew the new trade and the new learning which renovated European civilization. In these enterprises the Church completed its development into a great international state. Innocent III (1198-1216) made good the supremacy over the emperor and kings which Gregory VII (1073-1086) had asserted. As pope, he was the earthly agent of God, the source of all justice and law, and the supreme ruler over all temporal sovereigns. The canon or Church law regulated the ordinary life of men—their family relations, their economic activities, and their opinions—and prisons were kept to punish offenders. This Universal Church owned about one-third of the lands of western Europe and collected taxes from the rest. By the control of education and the punishment of heresy, it molded the minds of its members, every one of whom was born to membership and subject to its jurisdiction. Theologians such as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas graced it with scholarship and supported it with rational interpretations. The cathedrals were monuments to the devotion and aspirations of its members and leaders. All western Europe was one great religious community whose life was so unified and so fruitful that the designation "The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries" has been given the period of papal supremacy.

The
Supremacy
of the
Papacy

In this present age of national states and political governments such a universal and powerful religious institution seems quite unthinkable, yet it is well to remember its one-time existence, and to reflect that its work was largely for good and against evil. As one authority has written, "The mighty church at its height was the most powerful force in Europe for justice, for mercy, for charity, for peace among men, for honesty, for temperance, for human rights, for social service, for culture, for domestic purity, for obedience to law and order, for a noble and helpful Christian life both for individuals and states."² Its ideals of universality and supremacy rested upon its claim to be the guardian of the human soul during its earthly attempt to win eternal salvation.

The
Services
of the
Universal
Catholic
Church

² A. C. Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church*, p. 601.

**Evils
in the
Church**

Such great power and wealth, however, brought many evils. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries church officials, from priests to popes, departed from the severe life of Christian morality. Many of the higher prelates were feudal princes with castles, lands, and retainers, and became active participants in the wars of feudal Europe. Church taxes bore heavily on the people, from whom innumerable fees were exacted for the performance of priestly services. Worse still for the masses was the decay of religious life. Belief in creed was substituted for moral living and participation in ritual superseded faith and the practice of the benevolent virtues as methods of securing the salvation of the soul. Formalism rather than morality became the practice, if not the rule, of religious life.

**The
Protestant
Revolution**

These evils brought demands for reforms. When they were not made, attacks upon certain Church doctrines, particularly those of transubstantiation (the miracle performed by the priest by which the bread and wine were changed into the actual flesh and blood of Christ), the salvation of the soul by faith and good works, and the supremacy of the pope, combined with this discontent to bring revolts. The Middle Ages, of course, had never been free from religious controversy, but it was not until the fourteenth century that the possibility of severe disturbance in the Church became evident. The preaching of John Wycliffe in England during that century may be said to have opened the conflict which John Huss of Bohemia continued in the next century and Martin Luther carried on with success in the sixteenth. The evils in the Church and attacks upon its doctrines were, however, only contributing factors in the disruption of the Universal Church. More important than either in bringing the final result was the rise of national monarchies in England, France, and Spain. As the political organization in these countries became centralized the rulers grew restive under the overlordship of the pope. The revival of the ancient learning and the advance of science disturbed the mental calm which held the masses firm in their faith. The Protestant Revolution was the culmination of those forces which were breaking up the settled life of the Middle Ages.

**The
Results
of the
Protestant
Revolution**

The results of this successful attack upon the Church were enormous. At once Europe was broken into warring religious factions and a century of devastating warfare followed—civil war in Germany and France, revolt in Holland, and a world struggle between Elizabethan England and Catholic Spain. In the turmoil of this fighting were engendered those religious animosities which still survive among Christian denominations. In matters of belief and doctrine the Protestant churches departed markedly from the old established dogmas. The Bible superseded the pope as

**The
Religious
Wars**

the supreme authority. During the fourteenth century portions of the Bible were translated into the vernaculars. John Wycliffe gave some bits of it to the English masses. Tyndal in 1534 translated the New Testament. All English efforts in Biblical translation culminated in the King James version of 1611. This work has become the Bible of the English-speaking peoples. The appeal to scripture rather than to the pope as the final arbiter of doctrine resulted in individual interpretation of theological doctrine being made, not at first but in the end, a cardinal principle among Protestants. This gave the reading of the Bible a central place in religious life. Furthermore, it involved a new definition of "the church." The Catholic view was (and still is) that the church is the ecclesiastical organization originally founded by Christ through Peter under the divine sanction of God. Protestants, however, soon came to the idea that the church is the community of believers in Christ as Redeemer. They removed the priest from the dominating position in worship and organization; religion became less institutional and more personal. Differences in individual interpretations of the scriptures immediately appeared, with the result that those who gave up the Roman Catholic faith divided into several groups. Luther was only the first of a series of successful religious leaders—Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, John Knox, George Fox, and many others. No immediate liberation of the human mind accompanied this individualization of religious faith. Not one of the new Protestant sects accepted religious toleration as a principle, and science faced as stern an opposition from them as it did from the Roman hierarchy. Indeed, Luther called Copernicus a "fool." It is a mistake to look upon Protestantism as a movement to secure intellectual liberty. The practices of religious devotions, however, were considerably altered. Several of the sacraments were given up, the clergy were allowed to marry, and preaching was introduced as an essential part of service. Above all, the attaining of salvation was made a matter of faith. To win Heaven the believer had only to accept implicitly the revelations and principles of the Bible. Good works—saying prayers, alms-giving, performing services for the Church, and the like—were looked upon as worldly manifestations of faith, but the inner faith itself was the sole guide to salvation. As a result each Protestant sect developed a rigid creed to which adherents had to subscribe. Doctrine, therefore, became an issue of interminable dispute both between and within the sects. Not religion, but the political state was the chief benefactor of the Protestant Revolution. Church wealth was transferred to kings and princes. They became the heads of state religious organizations and as such absorbed the supremacy claimed by the pope as the

The
Diversity
of Sects

Doctrinal
Changes

State
Religions
and
Political
Gains

Reform
in the
Roman
Catholic
Church

head of the Universal Church. The divine right of kings—"king by the grace of God"—became the new principle of sovereignty. Finally, the revolts brought the Catholic Church to undertake the reforms which the evils in its administration made necessary. In the great Council of Trent held during the middle of the sixteenth century, the papal supremacy was reasserted, and the long established theological doctrines were reaffirmed. What the Church lost in universality, it regained in the enthusiasm and devotion of its members. The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the era of Revolution as a self-conscious and assertive institution. On the whole it may be safely concluded that Christianity was revitalized by the disturbances of early modern times.

Christian-
ity since
the
Protestant
Revolution

The sudden widening of the European horizon during this same period, which also marks the period of the Commercial Revolution, showed Christianity to be only one among several great religions. From persecuting European unbelievers and waging war against Mohammedan infidels, Christianity now rose to the vision of a converted world.

The
Threat of
Conquest
by the
Moham-
medan
Turks

But first Europe had to be saved from these infidels. The eighth century menace of Mohammedan conquest had reappeared. In the fourteenth century the Turks, a Tartar people, but converts to Mohammedanism, began to hammer at Europe's south-eastern door. In 1453 Constantinople fell, and by 1526 the Mohammedans had surged to the very walls of Vienna. Not until 1571, when Don Juan of Austria broke Turkish sea power at Lepanto, did Christian Europe cease to face the danger of conquest.

The
Moham-
medan
Religion

Mohammedanism was the religious element in the great Arabic culture which thrived in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, over Asia Minor, northern Africa, and southern Spain. The rôle of this culture in the stimulation of modern European cultural development has long been too little appreciated. The Mohammedan faithful believed in one God, Allah, and in Mohammed as his prophet. The founder taught that the Christian prophets, including Jesus, were the prophets of this one God, but that he, Mohammed, was the last and the greatest of them. To the sacred books of Christianity were added his collected writings, the Koran. Mohammed looked with horror upon murder, theft, adultery, dishonesty, gambling, drunkenness, lying, all images and pictures in worship, and usury. The soul at the end of life was to pass to Heaven or Hell, and the issue of life depended upon conduct. In practice he charged his followers with four duties,—“the keys to Paradise”—prayer, fasting, alms-giving, and a pilgrimage to Mecca. To these doctrines was added the exhortation to convert the world, if not by reason, then by force. To die in battle was to reach the seventh heaven immediately. This fatalism made his

followers ferocious and terrible in war, and any practice which tended to convert an unbeliever became virtuous. Mohammed broke the concepts of "humanity" and "charity to one's enemies" which were so fundamental in the teachings of Jesus. While Christendom was falling into warring camps this militant religion was losing its aggressive power, which left Christianity free to carry its creeds into the newly discovered portions of the world.

In the far-off Orient, the Christians found not only the wealth which drew them there, but religions which had a more tenacious hold than Christianity had upon European life. The Orient provides examples of civilizations dominated by religion, for there all life is controlled by religious ceremonies and beliefs. Yet there is little belief in a deity as that idea is understood in western civilization. The attitude of the Orient toward deity may be expressed in the saying of the Chinese philosopher, Confucius, "Respect the gods but have as little as possible to do with them." The Buddhists are essentially atheistic, while the Brahmanists have numerous gods, but no one of supreme importance. For Orientals the deity is not a "personal god," nor a ruler of the universe; rather deity is "a state of perfection" which may be achieved by belief, by practice, and by moral action. Their religious problem is that of attaining a state of perfection in which they may become one with reality, and both ceremonial and ethical practices are regarded as conducing to that achievement. The essential belief of Buddhism and Brahmanism is the transmigration of souls—the passing of the soul at death to another form of earthly life. In India all forms of animal life, even bugs and worms, are sacred. They are souls on the journey to perfection and must be allowed to go their way. As a man lives he attains or falls from perfection. Buddhism admonishes its believers not to kill, steal, lie, or be drunken. Confucius taught "what ye would not have others do unto you, do you not unto them." Guatama, the founder of Buddhism, originated the idea of "humanity," and first taught the doctrine of the "temperate life." Ancestors occupy a favored place in much of the oriental worship. But on the whole the religions of the Orient are systems of contemplation, ascetic practices, and ceremonials. Human life is looked upon as miserable and the world as unreal. The end of existence is to achieve a spiritual perfection.

**Oriental
Religions**

The discovery of this great un-Christian world aroused the Europeans to missionary efforts. Priests and preachers followed in the wake of explorers and traders. The slave trade was justified by the assertion that the heathen Africans were being carried to the blessings of a Christian salvation. Jesuit priests were the advance guard of the army of Christian missionaries

**The
Mission-
ary Move-
ment**

who since the sixteenth century have carried the faith to every people of the earth. These Jesuit missionaries planted the cross among the peaks of the Andes, beyond the Great Lakes of North America, in China, and in Japan. Later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Protestant missionary movement developed, and since the American Indians, especially in Central and South America, were largely won to Catholicism, Protestant efforts were directed chiefly to Africa and China. But Christianity has had small success in displacing the older religions of the Near and Far East. The lowly peoples can be converted, but the tenacity of old beliefs among more highly civilized peoples is an obstacle which the mere exhortation to accept the "true religion" cannot overcome. Perhaps the greatest result is that western educational, medical, and economic practices, rather than religious creeds, have been given a wider influence by the efforts of the Christian churches to convert the world.

The
Seculari-
zation of
Western
Civiliza-
tion

It has been said that until modern times there were no essential differences between the cultures of the Orient and the Occident; certainly the religious element, even as in all primitive life, dominated both civilizations. In comparison with oriental and primitive cultures, a most outstanding feature of modern western civilization is the relatively lesser part that religion plays in life. The western world is not irreligious, but it certainly is not predominantly religious: there are other interests in life than salvation; there are other acts more important to life than the performance of religious ceremonies. The "secularization" of the western world has been a long and slow development. An early trend was the passing of social supremacy from the Universal Church to the political state. The lawyer was the first, and remains the typical, worldly professional worker. At the opening of modern times princes, whether Catholic or Protestant, exercised a sovereignty over the ecclesiastical organization within their territory; the rise of capitalism emphasized the saving of wealth rather than the saving of souls; while humanism and science expressed the aroused interest in man and in physical existence—such influences changed the part of religion in the daily life of men.

Separation
of
Church
and State

If the state at first claimed the right to determine the religious beliefs of its citizens, it was compelled, as individualism became more powerful, to give up that control. The separation of church and state is a unique development of recent times. In founding the federal government the American people were the first to break the age-old union of religious and political organization, but it was not until the decade of the "forties" that the last of the churches in the older states of the union were disestablished. After a long struggle France, in 1906, completed the disestablish-

ment of the Catholic Church. The recent revolution had a similar result on the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia. Many European states continue to support an official religion, but such a maintenance does not prohibit the existence of other forms. The companion development of this separation of church and state has been toleration for all forms of religions. In the Middle Ages heresy was a crime punishable with death, and early modern times saw many persons brought to martyrdom for asserting their own opinions in religious matters, with both Protestants and Catholics suffering such persecution. Holland was the first European state to allow religious practices other than the established ones. In the seventeenth century England came to permit the existence of several dissenting sects, but deprived their members of any part in the government. The rationalism of the eighteenth century discredited the fanaticism of religious intolerance, and at the end of the century the French Revolution made religious toleration universal in western culture. Secularization has also released the schools from ecclesiastical control, and removed religious subjects from the common course of study. At present all religions, even those of the Orient and new strange ones, are permitted to seek converts among Christians. Religion has ceased to be a most vital interest among western peoples.

Religious
Tolera-
tion

Worldly
Interest

By its expression in philosophy and science the worldly interest altered the older views of the supernatural and the natural. Early modern times, like the prior ages, gave credence to beliefs in the existence of witches, ghosts, and devils. Not only was there a belief that the beneficent Deity performed miracles for the salvation of human souls, but it was also held that unearthly spirits conspired and intrigued to win the same souls for Satan. Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, recorded a story told by his grandmother in which God and St. Peter slept together and were awakened each morning by jerks on their beards. Luther believed in the personal devil, and the legend is that he once threw an inkwell at his Satanic majesty. New England Puritans were so certain that old women might be witches that several were tortured and executed. Indeed, there are some even now who fear the unseen. For most men, however, the ghost and the witch have been relegated to the realm of fairies and brownies, finding place only in the delightful task of amusing children. The same scientific advance which banished the evil spirits weakened the older belief in miracles. When it became evident that the material universe was orderly and operated according to laws (as men called the relationships which described the permanent organization of the universe), the possibility of divine intervention to set aside these laws for the benefit of man seemed remote. The rationalists of the eighteenth century

The
Decline
of the
Belief in
Witches,
Ghosts,
and
Miracles

looked upon the miracles either as allegories or as pure fabrications of the priests. As man moved out of the static, geocentric world into the dynamic universe conceived by science, the vision of a miracle-performing Deity and menacing devils blurred from his mind. Life became a natural process in an orderly cosmos.

The
Rational-
izing of
Religion

These eighteenth century rationalists went so far as to discard supernatural religion and to describe a rationalized and natural worship. They saw everywhere in nature evidences of orderliness and design. For them God became a rational and planning creator who had established his laws and set the universe going, and with Pope, the English poet, they exclaimed, "The state of nature was the reign of God." Free thinkers identified divine revelation with human reason. The Deity ceased to be one with all that was strange, abnormal, and capricious in a static world, to become identified with all that was permanent, unchanging, and certain in a dynamic universe. Above all, these rationalists attacked the traditional ideas of man's depravity. They saw man endowed with reason, which was the capacity to discover and to follow natural laws.

Deism

Deism, as this rationalized religion is called, made virtue the end of worship. It called upon man to find salvation in earthly well-doing, for immortality of the soul seemed doubtful. In the emphasis placed upon man's inherent goodness and the place of right conduct in religious life, a great stimulus was given to humanitarian enterprises. All rationalists, however, did not find in the orderliness of the natural world a proof of the existence of God, nor did they credit reason with the power to know Him if He did exist. As a result one group, known as atheists, denied the existence of Deity, and another, the agnostics, held that it was impossible for men to have a knowledge of supernatural existence. Skepticism, free thinking, or rationalism, as this aroused worldly interest of the mind is variously called, culminated during the mid-eighteenth century in these several destructive views of organized and doctrinized Christianity.

Agnosti-
cism

Atheism

The
Survival
of Chris-
tianity
as the
Chief
Religion
of the
Western
World

Such contrary religious opinions, however, did little more than disturb the traditional beliefs of the educated classes. Christianity, in its Protestant and Catholic forms, remained the unquestioned faith of the masses. In the general reaction from rationalism, both forms of Christianity received an emotional impulse toward religious devotion. The romantic movement which restored emotions to the arts, was paralleled by the evangelical movement which revived fervor and enthusiasm in worship, but the latter was quite as much a reaction to lax morals as it was to the cold formalism of the rationalists. It was not confined to any one country. In Germany its chief form was "Pietism," while in England it produced the Methodist Church. In 1846 some fifty Protes-

The Evan-
gelical
Churches

tant groups were represented in a conference at London which brought the adherents of evangelical churches into an international alliance. Unitarians, Friends, and Catholics are the chief Christian believers whose views preclude their enumeration as evangelicals. The word "evangelical" means "pertaining to the gospel;" hence the movement represented a reaffirmation of the divine inspiration and infallibility of the Bible. For each individual the right to interpret the Sacred Word was claimed, and in fact such individual interpretation was made a duty of the true Christian. The rationalist view of man as being inherently good was condemned and the traditional view of his fall from grace and consequent utter depravity was reasserted as a cardinal principle of doctrine. The incarnation of Christ, his crucifixion to save men from the consequences of their sins, Heaven, Hell, The Trinity, and the efficacy of prayer likewise were reaffirmed. Reason as a means to knowledge was distrusted, and faith was defined as a supernatural faculty which alone made it possible for man to know God and to attain salvation. The evangelical movement aimed to arouse the masses to a sense of their sins, to inspire them with a faith in Christ, and to renovate morals by making inspired devotion the thwarting power to appetites and passions. Enthusiasm in worship, fervency in doctrinal belief, and public preaching characterized evangelical efforts. On the whole, the movement reestablished a personal religion. Men again felt the intimate presence of God. Following the Napoleonic wars the early decades of the nineteenth century brought a general religious revival in which all older forms of Christianity took on a new vitality. Thus in spite of the secularization of life and the rationalizing of religion, Christianity survived as the doctrinal and spiritual faith of western civilization.

The New World was explored and settled in the hectic century of the religious wars. Two religious motives, religious rivalry and intolerance, contributed to the founding of the thirteen colonies. The early attempts of Gilbert and Raleigh on the Virginia coast were inspired by the desire to win the continent from Catholic Spain. In fact, the antagonism between Protestant England and Catholic Spain dominated all early English enterprise in commerce and colonization. The second motive brought the Pilgrims and Puritans to New England, the Catholics to Maryland, the Huguenots to Carolina, and the Quakers to Pennsylvania. Religious persecution drove weak sects from the European home-land. Thus the American people early acquired the chief religions characteristic of their culture—a diversity of denominations.

Of all the religious groups to settle in the New World the Puritans left the most lasting mark upon American life. Their stern

Religion in the Development of American Life

Religion as a Motive for Colonization

morality, brought by interpretation from the Old Testament, together with their strict theological dogmatism derived from the legalistic doctrines of John Calvin, gave them a force of character well suited to the harsh conditions of life in an untamed wilderness. They were not without superstition: the witch burnings are sufficient evidence of their belief in the supernatural. Neither were they tolerant: they expelled those who persisted in obnoxious beliefs. Nor did they, like the Quakers, have a new social vision. In fact, they were religious bigots, but sincere and practical; and these latter attributes became potent and fruitful elements in American life. The inflexibility of the social reformer who sought the abolition of slavery and of the liquor traffic was derived in a great measure from the moral rigidity of Puritan character.

The
Diver-
sity of
Sects

On the frontier whatever rational flavor religion might have brought from Europe disappeared in triumphant emotionalism. Camp meetings and revivals, with exhortation substituted for worship, were normal forms of social intercourse in newly settled areas. Under such conditions the evangelical movement made great headway. The Scotch-Irish immigrants of the late eighteenth century established Presbyterian churches. The recently founded Methodist Church came at the same time. These contested with the Puritan Congregationalists for the faith of the westward-moving peoples. The Methodist circuit rider was usually the first religious ministrant in a new settlement, but the Presbyterians ordinarily built the first church. The Christian Church founded by Alexander Campbell among the people of the upper Ohio Valley also played a rôle in the westward movement of religion. In this same expansion, the Mormon, a wholly American church established by Joseph Smith, who claimed that its doctrines were revealed to him by God, carried its faith from western New York to Utah. At the time of the Revolution the Anglican church was transformed into the Episcopal Church. Its chief strength was among the higher classes of the middle and southern colonies. The Roman Catholic Church had to wait upon the influx of Irish and South Europeans before it became a powerful factor in American religious life. Early in the nineteenth century an intellectual element of New England broke away from the Puritanical theology to found the Unitarian Church, the chief strength of which has been among the wealthy, especially those with intellectual interests. Late in the nineteenth century a reinterpretation of the scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy added Christian Science to America's already long list of denominations. In fact, the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the founding or introduction of some twenty-one different religious faiths. About the same time the eloquence of Robert Ingersoll disturbed orthodox doctrines and stirred the

undercurrents of skepticism, agnosticism, and atheism which ran in the popular mind.

In spite of this continuous diversification of sects, the tendency has been for the memberships of the larger religious groups to increase in an ever greater proportion. In the United States the most significant religious development of the last few decades has been the rapid growth of the Catholic population. In 1870 the Roman Catholic Church stood fourth in rank of total number of communicants. By 1906 it had displaced the Methodists from first place, with more than one-third of all church members accepting its faith. The following estimates by the Federal Council of Churches indicates the relative strength of the larger religious groups for the year 1923:

The
Nation's
Church
Members

Roman Catholics	18,104,804 ³
Methodists	8,304,948
Baptists	8,167,535
Lutherans	2,515,662
Presbyterians	2,402,392
Jews	1,600,000
Christians	1,218,849
Adventists	1,133,666
Protestant Episcopalians	1,118,396
Congregationalists	838,271
Total	45,404,523

The total church membership of the nation is placed at 47,461,558, about two-fifths of the entire population.

From the situation existing in the Middle Ages when all West Europeans were born to a membership in the Holy Catholic Church to this present condition in American life with about three-fifths of the entire population having no active part in religious devotions, is a startling change. The figures of church membership exhibit the steady secularization of life, with the release, one by one, of its essential phases from formal ecclesiastical control. The devout deprecate this as a decline of religious faith, and find in it evidence of social decay. Religion, as a matter of belief in fixed dogmas and practice of unchanging ritual, has lost its claim to an all-embracing allegiance, but this does not mean that the religious factor has passed out of life. It has only been liberated, for a very large number of people, both from creed and from conduct, to become an aspiration—a rising beyond the sordid sense-world into a

Religious
Currents
in Con-
temporary
Life

Religion
as an As-
piration to
Higher
Things

³ Included in this total are the minor children of Catholic families; such minor children are not counted as members of the Protestant sects until they have declared their membership.

realm of higher interests and values. As such, religion is a social force with new vitality and new aims.

The
Socializa-
tion of
Chris-
tianity

The most outstanding religious development of recent times has been the socialization of Christianity. The part of Christ in the scheme of human salvation has been reinterpreted; his life, as the man Jesus, is now seen to be a model of social service, and his teachings as a program of social organization. The religious approach to the solution of the industrial problem has already been noted. The same approach has been fruitful in promoting new views of the functions of charity and philanthropy. During the Middle Ages the Universal Church had the weak, the poor, and the sick under its care. Early modern times brought a decline of the religious institutions which served these needy ones. In the nineteenth century when charity again became an active virtue, such institutions, quite often under religious stimulation but public management, were again established. The contemporary spirit of social service has been fused from two elements, the knowledge which science gives of life, and the religious impulses of sympathy and self-giving. Thus the modern plan of socialization has advanced beyond indiscriminate alms-giving and indulgent charity to organized relief work. The fervor and enthusiasm of religious emotional experience unites with reason to devise adequate services to the weak and the derelict. Furthermore, there has arisen in the present world the vision of Christian society as being one in which both charity and philanthropy ought to be unnecessary. Formal religion alone has suffered by secularization: the fundamental ethical elements of Christianity have been released to a wider service than those of theological definition. The "kingdom of heaven" realized on earth, in the lives of men,—this is the aspiration of contemporary Christian thinking.

Religion
and
Science

Every religion, whether that of the Maori of New Zealand or that of the Christian, has not only taught a concept of the supernatural and man's relation to that power, but has also set forth a view of the organization of the material universe and its processes. Not only have there been religious visions and ideals, but there has also been much "religious science," *i. e.*, religious explanation of the phenomena of experience. Science, as has already been noted, is accurate and verifiable knowledge of the experienced phenomena, and with its development since late medieval times there has appeared a widening breach between the theological description of the cosmos and that made ever more plain by scientific discovery. Early modern scientists destroyed the old concept of a static geocentric universe; later workers have found for the time during which the earth has existed an infinity similar to that infinity of space which was envisaged by their predecessors.

Thus the view of special creation, brief earthly existence, and final judgment of the human race, as described in the Christian Epic has been discredited, at least for many people. Furthermore, science has questioned the miracles, and historical studies have shown that the Bible is not quite the simple and personal revelation of the word of God. The upshot of these discoveries and studies has been to weaken the general belief in much of Christian theology. Reason does not feel bound to accept dogmas which do not square with facts. Two modes for the adjustment of the conflicting views have been attempted. The Roman Catholic Church and certain evangelical churches maintain that "faith" is a coördinate faculty with "reason" and should guide in matters of religious belief. Another way out has been to reinterpret the theological view in the light of the scientific discoveries. Moreover, the quarrel between the religionists and scientists has not been limited to the mere questions of cosmic organization. Just as there has been "religious science," so also has there come into existence "scientific religion" or what is better known as "philosophic science." "Philosophic science" has drawn from the facts won by discovery a complete view of life and existence, including not only ideas as to the Deity, but also as to the ends and possibilities of human life. In general, this "philosophic science" has asserted the doctrine which the world knows as "materialism"—that there is nothing in existence but matter and force, that life is an interplay of these elemental components, that the whole process is mechanical, and that, if there are ends or purposes in the scheme of things, they are determined beyond man's power to change them. Thus "philosophic science" attacks the fundamental and vital articles of Christian belief, God's participation in universal and human action, the soul and its immortality, and man's responsibility for conduct. The true quarrel is not between science and religion, but between "philosophic science" and certain closed systems of religious doctrines. In this connection, it is well to remember that there has been taught with fervor a "divine determinism"—the predestination of souls either to salvation or damnation—which was just as destructive of man's responsibility as any modern form of determinism. The present issue arises from a similar error by both parties, the claim made by each of them to a final knowledge which has only a partially factual basis. Science sets itself the task of securing accurate and verifiable knowledge of all phenonema, and although much has been won, the darkness of ignorance has been beaten back only a little from the vastness of all existence. Religion, on the other hand, does not need to feel constrained to accept one and only one set of facts. Its task is to evaluate all phenomena for man, and to set him in a right

Philo-
sophic
Science

Material-
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The Co-
ordinate
Functions
of Reli-
gion and
Science

relation to them. When science attempts this, it goes beyond its field; when religion fails to include all known facts in its evaluation, it loses in its appeal to thinking minds. The declaration has been made that man is "incurably religious." It is probably true, for religion expresses man's depressions, aspirations, and sublimations. Beyond the universe of sense he always seeks for and has faith in an ultimate reality. This faith science cannot destroy. Neither can religion deny that which man's reason teaches him to be the truth. Each is complementary to the other, so neither must assert, for neither can maintain, an exclusive domination over an original nature of which they are common expressions.

The
Religious
Problem
in Mod-
ern Life

From the disagreement between religion and science arises the critical religious problem of western culture—the reinterpretation of Christianity in the light of present knowledge and social conditions. The problem is critical from two points of view: first, from that of traditional and established doctrines, for in this relation the reinterpretation is held to be destructive of Christianity itself; and second, from that of the advanced position which sees the need for a redefinition of Christianity in terms acceptable to modern conditions and knowledge as the only means of saving it from destruction. The appearance of the different historical forms of Christianity throws light upon this problem. Christianity originated during the Augustan Age of the Roman Empire—the period when ancient civilization was at its widest and richest development. The essential element differentiating Christianity from the older beliefs was its extension of altruism to all men, an extension which was achieved when communication and contacts among men made it possible—the first time in history—for one man to see the vision of all men as united and happy. Christianity was man's response to this vision, a vision lighted by the recognition of the responsibilities which united men in a mutual service to each other, and thus to God, the righteous and fatherly God of the Hebrews. In the following centuries this ethical attribute was united with an interpretation of phenomena based upon existing knowledge. Thus during the Middle Ages, Christian ethics and ancient learning united in Roman Catholicism as the greatest single form of historical Christianity.

Social conditions and knowledge, however, did not remain static, and disturbing factors compelled another exposition of Christianity. The rising individualism—a product of increased communications, social contacts, and the knowledge which revealed, within the social solidarity apparent to ancient minds, the individual as the unit of experience—made Christianity a "personal religion." Protestantism is the historical form of this interpretation. After three centuries, more knowledge has been won and social inter-

action has been greatly intensified, bringing as a result the present problem.

What is known as "modernism" in current thinking is the response to this new condition. There are two phases to the re-interpretation, doctrinal and ethical. The severest criticisms are leveled at modernism for what is asserted to be its denial of fundamental Christian tenets, such as the divinity of Christ and the divine revelation of the Bible. Modernism does not deny the existence of the supernatural, but refuses to recognize the division of phenomena into "natural" and "supernatural." The new interpretation asserts the continuous revelation of God in human experience. Both man and nature are recognized as manifestations of the one eternal spirit. Christ's divinity and the inspiration of the Bible are accepted, not as being unique, but as being the supreme manifestations of Divine Being to man. Religion, it is realized, has a deeper root than that of Christ's life; it is a part of the life of the human race, a life in which there is a continuing expression of the Divine Will or Purpose. Modernism attempts to interpret Christian doctrines in the light of the scientific knowledge of the day. In ethics, the essential teachings of modernism are akin to the socialization of Christianity. Modern social conditions, which exhibit the social solidarity as an integration of individual services to common human needs, demand a "religion of humanity"—not a deification of, but a service to, humanity. Modernism would make Christian altruism an active agent in every phase of human life. Perhaps Christianity in this way is acquiring another historical form.

**Modern-
ism**

The opponents of this new interpretation hold fast to the basic doctrines of Christian theology. Man's weakness and sin, his need for divine grace in attaining salvation, and his future life in a supernatural existence are the cardinal principles of those who maintain the traditional faith. The miraculous conception of Christ, his life on earth and his resurrection after death, together with the full acceptance of the Bible as the inspired word of God, complete the doctrinal concept of the "fundamentalists." They hold firm to the faith that man, cursed by sin, can find salvation only through the sacrifice of the Redeemer. When they take the offensive their most bitter attacks are directed against the "theory of evolution," which they assert is destructive of the Christian concept of life and morality, insofar, at least, as it accounts for man's origin by descent from lower forms of life. In these attacks they point to the weaknesses in the evidence for evolution and deprecate the linking of man with the lower animals. The essential issue between these conflicting views of Christianity is the disagreement as to the rôle of the supernatural in human

**Funda-
mental-
ism**

life. The modernists find no evidence of divine intervention except as the whole of life and its development is an expression of the Creator's will. The fundamentalists retain a faith in the miraculous participation of the supernatural in daily human life, and feel the need of that participation in attaining an eternal salvation. If one believes that the supernatural has intervened and does still intervene, the fundamentalists must be conceded to be safe in their adherence to traditional Christianity.

The clangor of this religious contention ought not to obscure the fact that Christian ethics receives a firmer emphasis by each disputant. The religious problem in contemporary life simmers down to the question of the possibility of maintaining Christian morals if the supernatural explanation of their origin and the divine admonition to live out their principles are swept away. Will men be "moral" only under the threat of eternal punishment and the prospect of personal immortality in a blissful state? It is the old issue—man's original depravity or his inherent goodness—argued in the light of present knowledge.

The
Place of
Religion
in Life

Primitive, ancient, and medieval times first found ceremony, and then found ceremony and creed to be essential to religion. Some modern men find both to be unnecessary, but in general the belief in creed has remained. This progressive differentiation in religious practices and beliefs from age to age has never meant, however, that old rituals and creeds were lost. Present churches include not only the few that have dispensed with ceremony and creed, but also the many that retain them. No other part of the social heritage has the tenacity of the religious elements; the claim of divine origin and sanction precludes modifications. Only a few at any one time depart from established forms. Traditional Christianity, as either Catholicism or Protestantism, is a fundamental phase of western culture. Its doctrines of God's relation to the universe and to each man have yielded only slightly to scientific advance. Christian ethics—universal brotherhood and justice—under modern social conditions has a greater vitality than ever. The pagan origins of western culture have made pagan ethics a force contending with Christian morals. No Christian people can claim a realization of the ethics of Jesus; it is an aspiration. Modern life contains both the pagan and the Christian, the primitive and the modern.

The decline of ecclesiastical control has in no way affected the place of religion in life. Religion does not, by changes in institutions, creeds, or ethics, disappear from life. Man's religious nature compels the continuous evaluation of experience, and the persisting acceptance of dependence upon that which is beyond himself. Modern men do not find in religion the whole of life, but

they find in it the best and noblest aspirations to life on this earth. The religions of the Orient deny the reality of earthly life; Christianity has long asserted its wickedness, but newer vision sees life improved, not by man acting alone, but by man acting under God's guidance. Again religion becomes an active force in the day-by-day life of man, not as acts of ceremony and devotion, but as a "walking in the ways of the Lord," a living with men in the ways of God. Religion binds man to the universe, if not in understanding, certainly in sympathy.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: POLITICAL ORGANI- ZATION

On all social levels men have found it necessary to enforce an obedience to certain rules of conduct and a conformity to certain types of behavior. In the most primitive societies obedience and conformity are enforced by the authority of the aged, by religious tabus which threaten the violator with punishment by supernatural powers, or by customs and traditions which bring upon the violator attacks by outraged members of the group. In general, enforcement is secured by the use of physical violence against the disobedient and the non-conforming. This physical force when organized into an institution for the maintenance of obedience and conformity to socially determined rules of conduct, becomes the state. The entire organization of agencies which maintain the state and perform its function is government. This state is the fifth of the great social institutions. In its make-up there are several distinct elements. First, there must be a people, *i. e.*, a body of population, unified by various bonds such as descent, compulsion, economic interest, geographic limits, military need, or national sentiment. The people must occupy a fixed territory and maintain a permanent organization. The second element in the formation of the state is the erection of an organization to enforce such rules and regulations as the group may live under. This organization is a "government" and is the chief ingredient in political organization. The third element in the creation of the state consists of the rules and regulations which through the government are enforced upon the group and its members. These regulations are "laws." Thus a permanent population living within a definite territory and recognizing the sole authority of a government as expressed in laws is a "state." The state exercises the group's right and will to control all members of the group as well as all lesser groups within itself. This right and will are exercised through the physical force which government officials may employ in compelling an obedience to laws. This control over the members and the other institutions of a group by the use of physical force is the chief characteristic of the state, and

The
Nature
of the
State

Sover-
eignty
is the
Essential
Character-
istic
of the
State

is called "sovereignty." From the individual, sovereignty demands an obedience; for the group, sovereignty asserts a freedom from all other groups and powers. Sovereignty is the essential power of action held by the state.

The
Origin
of the
State

The first historical states of ancient times claimed gods as their founders. This theory of the state's origin merely represents man's usual attempt to explain by supernatural power whatever his reason cannot understand. Early modern times produced the idea that the state originated in a "social contract" entered into by primitive men who lived free in a "state of nature." At one time or another primitive men surrendered their liberties to the group in order to enjoy under group protection all rights which did not injure any individual man. Sovereignty, according to this theory, originated by the consent of the governed. A later theory as to the state's origin is that sovereign power is nothing more nor less than institutionalized military conquest, the victor setting himself over the vanquished as ruler. Present opinion, however, holds none of these views. It maintains that the state is based upon the coöperation which has evolved in the growth of society. In fact, as coöperation due to specialization of function in industry, religion, and warfare developed, the state came as a natural expression of the unity of action. For this reason the state is a necessary institution, and sovereignty results from the existence of group need for certainty and order in all relations among its members. The state is an institutional expression of man's social nature.

In the
Social
Needs
of Man

The
Histor-
ical Forms
of the
State

Primitive
Custom
was the
Root
of Law

Primitive peoples on the lowest level of society lived in small groups without priests or chiefs. In times of danger physical prowess determined the leader. There was no political government, nor any law other than the tabus, customs, and traditions which regulated life. These regulations, however, were the beginnings from which law was to evolve.

The
Tribal
State

The earliest social organizations to show political elements were tribes of nomads or agriculturalists under patriarchs. In these groups, which were unified by kinship, the father was owner, priest, and judge. He was also law-giver and military leader. His supremacy was unquestioned. The rights and duties of his group were fixed by his will, and its interests were served by his acts. He was the first king. The Jews, Greeks, and Romans first appear in history with tribal political organizations. Law, still united with religious beliefs, reached a stability which is exemplified in the Tablets of Moses. Nomadic tribes on coming from the desert into richer agricultural areas often established their rule by conquest over the more docile workers of the land. The workers were reduced to slavery, and their villages were united into a new

political organization. Such were the Desert Kings of Egypt and the creators of the Assyrian and Persian empires.

**The
City
State**

The agricultural village, however, if it remained unconquered, gave a better opportunity for political development. Barbarism arose in such communities, and when they were united under some village which trade or military power made greater than the others, a city-state, which was the normal political form of the ancient world, made its appearance. Thebes in Egypt, Babylon in Chaldea, Athens in Greece, and Rome in Italy, are the outstanding examples. Hammurapi, King of Babylon, collected the older written laws and usages into the first legal code. Athens was formed by the consolidation of the villages of Attica, so that many elements were compounded in her population: her citizens included not only the traders of the sea, but also the agriculturalists of the valleys, the shepherds of the hills, and the woodmen of the mountains. The reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes established a democratic government in which each citizen was identified with the life of the city. Free discussion, individualism, and political inventiveness and adaptability were the fruits of these reforms. Slaves, foreigners, and women, however, played no part in the deliberations. Rome, until led into her career of conquest, maintained government by a body of citizens drawn from the members of her ancient families. In Rome law was first separated from traditional religion and morals to become a set of rules and principles designed to give justice by rational and equitable consideration of human situations. The qualities of honor, faith, and firmness made Roman law an instrument of great utility in the further development of western civilization. By direct adaptation or indirect absorption every modern legal system has taken over elements from this first genuine body of law. Rome found the world divided, ruled by custom and religion; she bequeathed it an ideal of unity and a promise of justice under law. Beyond the limits of city walls there was to come a greater political organization.

Vice, avarice, and inordinate ambition among the Roman ruling classes undermined the foundations of the imperial organization. There was no fall of Rome, but only a swift deterioration and a slow infiltration of more vigorous peoples who, not having mastered the technique of government, failed to maintain the essential institutions of the empire. In the third century A. D., the Teutonic barbarians threatened the Roman frontier; in the fourth century they crossed the line; and in the next two centuries they swept over the Empire. With them they carried their tribal customs and laws, and these, after several centuries of turmoil, were combined in modified forms with the remnants of Roman organization to produce the feudal system of the Middle Ages. The failure of Charle-

**The
Decline
of the
Roman
Empire**

magne to erect a permanent and stable political organization culminated in the disorder of feudalism.

**The
Feudal
State**

The feudal régime was based upon land-holding and military prowess. In theory at least, the king, as the supreme feudal overlord, was the greatest military leader, and was possessed in his own right of all lands under his control. Portions of these lands, however, he granted out to other lords who were his vassals, each of whom swore allegiance to him and was bound to render him military service in times of danger. Besides this military service, the vassal owed certain customary dues to his overlord, such as ransom in case of the lord's capture, or payment upon the occasion of the marriage of the lord's daughter, or the knighting of the lord's son. With the land which the vassal received for this homage and these services went certain military, judicial, and financial powers. The grant of land constituted the holding or fief of the vassal. The fief was the political unit of the feudal system. Within it the lord was absolute, unhampered by superior authority and limited only by the customary relationships which existed between him, his own vassals, and his serfs. The smallest fiefs were single manors sufficient to maintain a knight with horse and armor. The great fiefs supported large arrays of knights and retainers. Under feudalism, Europe was ruled by arbitrary and irresponsible princes. Their castles dominated the landscape; their wills, capricious and exacting, tyrannized over the agricultural masses; their feuds disrupted the general peace. In the modern sense law hardly existed, and administration was unknown. Local custom governed personal relationships, and class privileges or disabilities determined social status. Organized government was impossible. By marriage, reversion, inheritance, and conquest, fiefs passed and re-passed from lord to lord. Vassals sometimes found themselves bound to change sides during the course of a battle. Decentralized, chaotic, and anarchic were the political conditions of the Middle Ages.

**The
Politico-
Religious
Organiza-
tion
of the
Middle
Ages**

In fact, Europe of the late Middle Ages was a religious rather than a political community. City-states in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, feudal kings and lords, the Holy Roman Emperor and the pope—each with varying powers and jurisdictions, acknowledging canon law, Roman civil law, and local customs—exercised a loose and divided sovereignty over the people. Often extensive territories were united under a single prince, but military defeats or weakness of the prince or lack of force in his heirs quite as often threw the territory back into the feudal chaos. Since might made right under feudalism, states rose and fell chiefly by the force and ability of the overlord. Yet in spite of this unending political disorder, the common religious faith, with

its strictly enforced obedience and dominating organization, gave some unity and order to life. It has already been noted that the medieval popes claimed and achieved for a time a lordship over emperors, kings, and princes. Churchmen held the chief offices in feudal administrative institutions. Church courts tried cases affecting the disposal of property. The "just price" was enforced, if at all, by religious jurisdiction, and "God's peace" often brought private wars to an end. Papal legates were feared emissaries in the courts of feudal kings. By means of the interdict the pope denied religious services to all people subject to a recalcitrant prince. This denial of religious ministrations to the entire population soon brought the proudest prince to his knees; in this way King John of England and Philip Augustus of France were compelled to acknowledge the overlordship of the pope. During the Middle Ages political organization was subservient to religious authority.

The outstanding political development of the late Middle Ages and early modern times was the formation of national states. Nationality, as has already been pointed out, is a feeling of common identity and solidarity among a people. With the appearance of such a consciousness, the basis for a political unification, different from that of allegiance to a feudal lord, was created. Furthermore, a disruption of the ecclesiastical control was made possible if not inevitable. Nationality gives social unity to the state, and the land inhabited by the nation becomes the territorial limits desired for the state. The result of the desire is that, while the feudal state was an ever-shifting arrangement of people and areas, the modern state is a reasonably fixed unit of people and land.

**The
National
State**

**National-
ity Made
Political
Unity
Possible**

Three developments were necessary to bring about the reorganization of the politico-religious community of the Middle Ages into the present system of national states. Two of these developments were destructive: one wiped out the local jurisdictions of the feudal lords, and the other destroyed the superior jurisdiction of the Church. The first of these destructive developments was by means of wars and territorial consolidations. National feeling found in some one feudal lord the symbol of unity and made him, therefore, the agent of its political achievement. The second development entailed the release of political institutions from Church control. Here, also, there were two courses of development. In Roman Catholic countries, such as France and Spain, the state took over the administration of the religious organization, often using it for political purposes. The Spanish Inquisition was as much an instrument for the securing of national unity as it was for the maintaining of religious conformity—and even religious conformity made for national unity. The Protestant Revolt derived much of its strength from national resentments toward papal political

**The
Destruc-
tion of
Feudal
Lords**

**The Dis-
ruption
of the
Universal
Church**

authority. As a result, among those people who broke with the established doctrines of the Church, there were formed national churches. Among Catholics and Protestants alike political organization gained at the expense of the Church. The rise of the national state obliterated feudal jurisdiction and disrupted the Universal Church.

New
Govern-
mental
Institu-
tions

The third development in the formation of these states was the creation of governmental institutions which expressed and exercised the growing political sovereignty. Since national feeling made some lord the symbol and agent of political unification, he became, as king, the sovereign. His will was law. His decrees were justice. His desires were policies. Legislative, judicial, military, and financial institutions were set up by his authority and power. Government was his personal prerogative. Loyalty to him became synonymous with loyalty to the nation. Nationality compelled unity within the state, and the shortest cut to political unity was by the concentration of authority in one man. The absolute monarchy was the typical form of government in the first national states.

Factors
Contribut-
ing to
the Rise
of the
National
State

Several factors coöperated with nationality to make the state the dominant institution of modern times. The secularization of life, which accompanied the shift in human interest from the supernatural to the world of man, found in political organization the necessary instrument for the performance of service to earthly life. Developing commerce made necessary some uniformity in money, contracts, and laws. The new social class, the bourgeoisie, found its interest to be served best by a unified and uniform political control, a control which not only recognized bourgeois interests, but depended largely upon bourgeois wealth for its own financial support. National monarchs and the growing middle class joined in a common attack upon the feudal lords and the Church. In providing the model for the organization of life under law, the revived Roman legal system was a great stimulus to the assertion of the state's right to supreme jurisdiction. The use of gunpowder made the lowest serf the equal of the proudest knight in battle. The knight was stripped of his military monopoly, and troops drawn from every element of the population gave military supremacy to the authority which could marshal them. As a result, the national monarch was quite often the feudal lord who could arm and maintain in an up-to-date fashion a considerable body of troops. The modern state owes its existence to the general development of culture.

Not all peoples attained nationality and statehood at the same time. The struggles of the late Middle Ages gave them to the English, the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese. The

first revolt to secure national independence was by the Swiss and the second by the Dutch; both achieved it in 1648. These nations were organized during the early modern period, but it was not until the nineteenth century that a definite political principle, namely, that each people which feels itself to be a nation has the right to establish itself as an independent sovereign state, grew out of the idea of nationality. This idea was one of the fruits of the French Revolution. The settlement of Vienna in 1815 ignored the principle, with the result that the nineteenth century was disturbed by incessant struggles to attain national statehood. The Greek war for independence, the Belgian revolution of 1830, the Polish insurrections, the Irish uprisings, and the disturbances in the Balkans were manifestations of unrealized national statehood. Bismarck, Cavour, and Lincoln—the greatest statesmen of the century—owe their fame to the services rendered to their respective nations. Bismarck and Cavour unified theirs, while Lincoln preserved a union already established. It was not, however, until the close of the World War that the principle of national statehood was accepted as a basis of treaty settlement. Then the “self-determination of nations” was realized not only in the erection of the several new states of Eastern and Central Europe, but also in the rectification of the boundary lines of older states.

The
Principle
of Na-
tional
State-
hood

The nation-state is the paramount political fact of modern times. It was created during the late Middle Ages, appeared at the opening of modern times, and now is the general political unit. Furthermore, it promises to be the unit of political organization for an indefinite future period. Never were national feelings more intense than they are at present. Europeans, overseas Europeans, the awakening yellow peoples, and other groups, long slumbering in the quietude of oriental cultures, are becoming alive to the vital interests of nationality. In Egypt, India, Korea, and the Philippines the fires of national patriotism glow ever brighter.

Wherever the nation-state appears it exhibits certain distinguishing characteristics. Every such state claims to be a law unto itself, and the national interest is considered superior to any interest of the individual or humanity. In furthering this national interest each state claims a mission which it has a sacred duty to perform, and each asserts an honor which, if violated, is a sufficient cause for war. Each demands political independence and the right to grow—“a place in the sun.” From these claims come rivalries and antagonisms which disturb the peace of the world. Within each national state the individuals are bound to serve the government with the loyalty and sacrifice which blend into the sentiment of patriotism. On the other hand, there is a concept of “common

The
Character-
istics
of the
National
State

good" which operates to remove such social distresses as may be considered injurious to the state's strength and honor. The national state is the functioning organization of the highest social unity yet achieved among men.

The Democratization of the National State	<p>The form of government, <i>i. e.</i>, the institutions by which a people conduct their public affairs, has always had a close relation to the form of the state. The ancient patriarch was executive, legislative, and judicial departments all in one. Inheritance took care of his election, and administration consisted of nothing more than his personal actions. The steady development of the state served to differentiate these types of political activities and to develop special institutional forms for them. As a result the modern states have special governmental organizations embodying each of the several departments, all of which may have different forms. The patriarch represents the common historical form of government, the monarchy, which is a rule by one person. The city-state produced another form of government, the oligarchy, which is a control by the few. Two general types of the oligarchy have been important. Aristocracy originally was the rule by "the best," those few persons who, either by birth or by social prestige, were deemed to possess greater capacities and virtues than ordinary men. Plutocracy is a much worse type of oligarchy, for it is a government by the rich few.</p>
The General Forms of Government	
Monarchy	
Oligarchy	
Democracy	<p>Modern times have witnessed the development of a third form of government, democracy. Although there are many definitions for the term, democracy may be taken to mean, in its political sense, government by the people—not necessarily by all of the people, but as Lord Bryce has said, by about three-fourths of them or by at least enough to place the balance of physical power in the voting population. Under the democratic theory of government, sovereignty is held to be resident in the general body of population and all authority exercised by governmental institutions is delegated to them by the population. The second phase of modern political development has been the rise of democracy within the national state. The general advances of culture in economic, religious, educational, and social activities reacted upon government and caused it to develop its departments into an intricate organization. Executive and administrative action expanded from personal commands into a body of office-holders and police officials acting under laws. Legislation ceased to be a word from the mouth of the sovereign and became the judgment of delegated representatives of the people. Wise Solomon became a judicial system. Above all, inherited political power was overthrown, and the electoral department of government, by which rulers were chosen, became all-important. Modern democracies are complex</p>

forms of government, the products of the social needs for order and stability as well as for justice in the relations which exist among men in the multifarious associations of present civilization. Nationality first achieved unity of government; later it identified the national population with the control over government. From one point of view democracy is but a phase of the nationalization of political authority.

The earliest national states were monarchies. The king was the ancient patriarch in a modern form. The nation had superseded the family as the ward of a protecting father. Roman law asserted the absolutism of the king. Religious belief sanctioned his divine right to rule. This absolute divine right monarch gave order and stability to the first modern states, but he was responsible to God alone. Men had services to render but no rights to enjoy; they were subjects, not citizens. As far as earthly power and human control were concerned, the early modern kings were quite irresponsible. Short-sighted and weak rulers were quite often tyrants and endangered national interests. The benevolent despot of the eighteenth century was merely the absolute monarch who recognized his first and highest duty to be the achievement, not of a personal grandeur, but of the national good. But the eighteenth century revealed that the inherent defect in the absolute and divine right monarchy was the frequent sacrifice of the national interest to favoritism, weakness, and ambition. The early national state achieved a centralized authority and administration in the king as the symbol of unity and the agent of national honor and well-being. That he was believed to rule by divine right and with absolute power, was a logical interpretation of the idea that the state itself had been created by God. Nationalism first discovered the unity of the people under the rule of the king, and then it claimed the king's responsibility to the people, and finally, when he remained true to the interests of the privileged classes and refused to recognize the interests of the people, the people repudiated him as the symbol and agent of the nation. In this repudiation was the necessity of and the opportunity for the development of democracy.

The first step in the transition from absolutism to democracy was the development of responsible government, *i. e.*, a government subject to control by at least a part of the national population. In France feudalism flowered in perfect forms, and there, too, under Louis XIV absolutism luxuriated. It was England's fortune to devise responsible government. William the Conqueror (1066-1080) centralized the English monarchy long before continental Europe broke the feudal bonds. He adopted the customary governmental practices of the Anglo-Saxons, which in spirit recognized the rights and freedom of the individual as the law

The
Irresponsi-
bility of
Govern-
ment
in the
Early
National
States

The
Develop-
ment of
Responsi-
ble
Govern-
ment in
England

The
Roots
of the
English
Constitu-
tion

The
Common
Law

The
Magna
Carta
1215

The
Growth
of the
English
Parlia-
ment

The
House of
Commons

of the kingdom. English common law maintained a regard for personal liberties, and contributed much to the development of the English concept of a body of rights which the king and the government were bound to respect. Individual rights under the common law were a traditional restriction upon royal absolutism. The common law is basic in the legal system of all English-speaking peoples. In reorganizing feudalism William the Conqueror compelled every lord and vassal in England to take an oath of allegiance to him; thus every lord in England was the "king's man," and the royal supremacy was secure against the divided allegiance which, on the continent, so often set the royal vassals against the authority of the crown. The nobles of England found themselves a consolidated order under the king; as a result, when the successors of William endeavored to practice an irresponsible absolutism they encountered the collective resistance of the barons. In France individual nobles often warred with the king, but as a group the nobility never united to compel a respect for their feudal prerogatives. This the English barons did. In 1215 they compelled King John to sign the *Magna Carta*, and in 1225 Henry III accepted its stipulations. Not in any sense was this charter a step toward democracy as now understood; it only defined the rights of feudal vassals which the king was bound to respect. The net result of this opposition of the barons to the kings during the thirteenth century was to force the king to recognize the existence of a body of liberties, which, if violated, the nation would be justified in maintaining by resort to arms.

At the same time the representative system of government developed. In France, the three feudal orders—lords, clergy, and third estate—met as the Estates General. Since each order voted as a unit, the clergy and nobility, the two privileged orders, succeeded in preventing the Third Estate, which represented the middle class and the common people, from securing any effective participation in the government. This weakness in the French legislature enabled the kings to dispense with its coöperation, so that from 1614 to 1789 the body never met. In the Holy Roman Empire, the feudal princes, Church princes, and representatives of the free cities formed the Diet, which was therefore representative, not of the people, but of feudal sovereignties. In England, the lords, clergy, knights, and burgesses met in a Parliament of three houses, Convocation, Lords, and Commons. The clergy, with the exception of the higher members who went into the House of Lords, soon dropped out, while the knights and burgesses came together in the House of Commons; thus the lesser feudal lords and the representatives of the growing middle class were united in a single body, which represented not so much the social classes as the nation. In 1295

Parliament gained control over the levying of taxes; in 1399 it placed a king on the throne, establishing a precedent for its later power to elect the sovereign; and in 1407 the House of Commons secured the recognition of its right to originate money bills. The great difference between the English legislative assembly and the French, or any others of that time, came not only from the difference in representation, but also and even more from the fact that it controlled the purse-strings of the national government. As the central governments took form, more and more money was needed. If the king could secure a permanent tax, as the French king did in the "taille" of 1430, he was to a great extent free to disregard the demands of the representatives of the nation. French absolutism rested upon this permanent tax and the royal standing army. England avoided the creation of both. Down to the sixteenth century Parliament continued to exercise general powers over legislation.

The sixteenth century was the great age of national monarchies, and the English sovereigns, more than any other, enjoyed an absolute power, in fact if not in law. The Tudor kings and queens ruled largely without Parliament, but Henry VIII found the body very useful for sanctioning the legislation which separated England from Roman Catholic jurisdiction. Tudor absolutism was due more to a harmony between King and Parliament, than it was to the supremacy of king over the legislature: national feeling united the people under the leadership of the crown. When James I succeeded Elizabeth in 1603, he claimed to be a divine right and hence an absolute monarch. Likewise, his views on religious organization were in opposition to the growing Puritan movement. These two factors united to engender that struggle between King and Parliament which, in the course of the century, was to send Charles I to the executioner's block, raise up Cromwell's military despotism, restore Charles II, exile James II, and end in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 with the establishment of Parliament's supremacy in the government. The king's control over judges, and his power to levy taxes, to control the army, and to set aside parliamentary legislation were the essential issues of the struggle. The Long Parliament abolished the arbitrary courts; the Bill of Rights of 1689 settled the other problems. This Bill of Rights, together with other legislative measures, established the constitutional monarchy. Government in England henceforward was responsible to Parliament, and the king's power was limited by law. In addition, individual liberties were guaranteed: no excessive bail was to be demanded, trial was to be by jury, the writ of *habeas corpus* was guaranteed, freedom of speech was granted, and the right of petition was established. In calling William and

The
Control
of Tax-
ation
and
Money
Bills

The
Seven-
teenth
Century
Quarrel
between
King and
Parlia-
ment

The
Glorious
Revolu-
tion
1688

Mary to the throne, Parliament made good its right to determine the succession.

The
American
Revolution
1776-1783
and the
Final
Victory
for Responsible
Government

The parliament which won this control over the king was in no way representative of the English nation in the modern sense of representation, *i. e.*, it was not elected by the people. In fact, it was little more than the executive committee of a landed aristocracy and a commercial oligarchy. The German kings who ascended the English throne in 1714 by Parliament's sanction left the active administration of government in the hands of ministers, and the House of Commons made good its control over them. The House itself was a corrupt body, for elections were openly bought and sold. When George III came to the throne in 1760, he undertook to restore the personal rule of the king by purchasing a majority in the House of Commons. At the same time the exigencies of the British treasury and the need for imperial defense led to the adoption of new economic and political policies toward the colonies in America. The first of these policies aroused the English to a constitutional struggle which centered about the disreputable John Wilkes, whom the king and his henchmen sought to prevent from taking a seat in the House of Commons. Soon, however, the internal quarrel merged into the greater struggle which the new colonial policy caused to break out between the Americans and the king. Since the colonies had been settled mainly by the religious and political radicals of the seventeenth century they were steeped in the theories of British individual liberties and felt sharp opposition to royal power. As a result, when the new taxes were levied, the trade laws enforced, and a few troops quartered on the people, the colonials protested and demanded their rights as British subjects. In general, this protest was the result of agitation by those colonials whose economic interests were affected adversely by the new colonial policy, namely, the colonial merchants, and those other colonists who were eager to secure western lands. As a word-battle the quarrel dragged on for ten years; and then, due more to the stupidity of the royal policy and the factional strife of British party politics than to the righteous anger of the colonials, it broke into open warfare. The English opposition to the attempt by the king to restore his personal rule relieved the colonies of the full weight of England's military power; while France, Spain, and Holland, her old-time rivals for overseas empire, found the colonial revolt an excellent opportunity to secure revenge for their earlier defeats. In the face of the internal and external opposition, George III failed dismally in his attempt to break Parliament's control over the government. In the same year that England recognized the independence of the thirteen American colonies, it was established that an English king could not maintain a ministry contrary to the

will of the majority of the electorate. The American Revolution brought final victory for responsible government in England, as well as the establishment of similar government in the New World.

The founders of responsible governments, being familiar with absolute monarchs, feared the strong executive. In curbing his power they placed, first the control of taxation, and later, the making of all laws, in the hands of a legislature, which was representative of some part of the people. At the same time they freed themselves from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, and from the confiscation of property, by removing the judiciary from the executive's control and by guaranteeing jury trials. With these reductions in the power of the absolute executive, the legislative body became the dominating agent of government. As a body representing the people, the legislature was conceived to be the only safe guardian of national interests and liberties. Responsible government, as it appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, was government by such a representative body.

The British system, because it was the product of a complex historical growth, was inconsistent in theory, if not in practice. In theory the king was supreme, but in point of fact the majority vote in the House of Commons was in control of the government. A committee of ministers was chosen from this majority party and, headed by its leader, the members held office as privy counselors to the king. These offices gave them legal authority, which they exercised as a committee in the "cabinet." This cabinet was the real executive and had power to initiate the legislation which the qualified voters had indicated was desirable by establishing that party in power. At the end of the eighteenth century the custom was established that a cabinet which had been defeated in the House of Commons on any bill had either to resign or to appeal to the country for sanction. In this type of government the executive and legislature were effectively combined. Furthermore, no judicial body had the power to set aside a law passed by the legislature. That the all-powerful legislature was chosen by only a small percentage of the population, in no way affected its right to govern. The irresponsible absolute monarchy had been overthrown, and in its place appeared the constitutional monarchy with responsible government. It was this British system which the philosophers of the eighteenth century set before the European peoples as a model for the reformation of their inefficient and despotic absolutisms.

Whereas the British system effectively combined the instruments of government, the federal government, set up by the victorious colonials in America, left each branch quite independent, but balanced each against the others. In the presidency, the execu-

The
General
Type of
Responsible
Government,
Representative
Government

The
British
Parliamentary
System of
Responsible
Government

**The
American
Check
and
Balance
System
of Re-
sponsible
Govern-
ment**

tive was made exceedingly powerful. His fixed tenure of office and power of veto over legislation freed him from domination by the legislature. On the other hand, he was not responsible for a legislative program. His election was by a college of electors, chosen originally by state legislatures or conventions. He was not in any way responsible to the people. In congress, the right to initiate money bills was given to the lower house. The upper house was made small, and represented the states. It served as a check on the lower house, which represented the qualified voters. By a vote of a two-thirds majority in both houses, it was possible to pass a law over the president's veto. The supreme court with its power to declare laws unconstitutional (more assumed than granted), became a check upon both the executive and the legislature. Furthermore, only certain delegated powers were attributed to the federal government. In the formation of the federal government the colonial leaders drew upon the historical precedents of the English constitution, the provisions of the colonial charters, and the principles of John Locke. Although the experiences of the Revolutionary war period tested their theoretical conceptions of government, no united opinion was formed; some wanted a king, others desired a weak executive, and still others favored a strong central government without a king. The outcome of this division of opinion was a compromise government, removed as far as possible from popular control. Among the founders of the federal government there was no spokesman for democracy. At best they feared the people. Liberal political opinion in the United States at the time of the creation of the present national government went no further than to advocate the rule of the rich and socially well-born. The significance of the founding of the federal government was not in the creation of a democratic political organization, but in giving to the world the example of a people abolishing the king, establishing written legal limitations upon the agents of government, and setting up new political institutions, responsible in theory, if not in fact, to the people themselves.

**The
Factors
Operating
to Es-
tablish
Political
Democracy

Human
Instincts

Private
Property**

While the English people, at home and in the New World, were working out these forms of responsible government, the general cultural advance set in motion other forces which brought the control over government into the hands of the adult male population. No great institution exists without a root in the fundamental drives and instincts of man, and political democracy is no exception. The roots of the idea are in those instincts which impel him to seek wealth, power, and domination. Self-assertion demands free play for personal opinion and initiative. In the origin of private property the embryonic democratic right appeared.

If a man may acquire and possess the goods of the earth and use them for his own purposes, ought he not also to possess the right to participate in the control over them?

All of those historical developments which have contributed to the liberation of the individual have aided in giving him the right to participate in the control of group action, and to assert by his ballot a judgment upon those matters over which the group through its government maintains a control. Athenian practice afforded an example of democracy to the world. Christianity, with its doctrine that man by the exercise of his choice and will can achieve eternal salvation, suggested that he might possess the capacity to achieve his own welfare on this earth. The original suggestion, however, was suppressed in the rigidity of the Catholic hierarchy. Modern democracy owes its growth to the liberation of the human mind which occurred in the changing interest in ancient learning, the new science, the discovery of the New World, and the critical rationalism of early modern times. Humanism rediscovered man. In the later phases of the Protestant Revolution the individual acquired the right to exercise his judgment in religious matters. In the struggle with the political state, the Roman Church, and especially the Jesuit theorists, proclaimed the sovereignty of the people. The Presbyterians of Scotland and the Puritans of England applied the idea of popular sovereignty to the control of church organization. The Levellers, another English sect, first advocated universal manhood suffrage as a political measure. The Mayflower Pilgrims signed a compact setting forth the aim of establishing a government for common welfare,—here appeared the embryonic constitution. The English Puritans in the overthrow of Charles I issued the world's first written constitution which founded a government, the *Instrument of Government* of 1652. The discovery of the New World, which opened to the venturesome of the Old a region where they might acquire wealth and power, reacted upon Europe by creating a demand for relief from class privilege and arbitrary power. Finally, as a result of these forces the democratic idea became the accepted political doctrine, and received a philosophic statement and support which carried it, by means of literary agitation, to the mass of the people, whose minds these general developments had made ripe for its reception.

The core of the philosophic justification of democratic government was in the "social contract" theory of the origin of the state. According to this theory, man in the "state of nature" possessed every right to seek his own welfare. Such unrestrained individualism, however, produced a state of war; therefore, in order to secure peace and security, all rights were surrendered to the state,

The
Example
of Athens

Christian
Doctrine

The
Worldly
Interest
Protestant
Sects

The
New
World

The
Eight-
eenth
Century
Philoso-
phy

which in turn allowed to each person the complete exercise of all liberties that did not endanger those of any other man. The proper individual rights and liberties were enumerated either as "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" or as "liberty, property, and security." In addition to these "imprescriptible rights," free speech, the ballot, trial by jury, equal taxation, equality before the law, and government by chosen representatives were demanded as rights under written law. In case government abridged or denied these liberties, there remained the right of revolution as a check upon tyranny and oppression. As was to be expected, the philosophers disagreed as to the kind of government which this "social compact" ought to establish, and each found justification for his own predilections. Thomas Hobbes, in the middle of the seventeenth century, found in the "state of nature" the justification for absolute monarchy; John Locke, at the end of that century, made it the basis of the limited monarchy as set up by the "Glorious Revolution"; while Jean Jacques Rousseau, in the middle of the next century, found in the "social contract" the foundation of political democracy. His book, bearing that title, asserted that sovereignty arose from the "general will" of the people, and that the only method of expressing the "general will" was by the ballot. To Rousseau the republic seemed the best form of government; to him is due the credit for making democracy the political gospel of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The
French
Revolution
1789

In Rousseau's time, however, responsible government had not become an integral part of western culture. The English monarchy and the American republic were aristocratic, and the continental monarchies remained irresponsible and absolute. But the ferment of ideas which the eighteenth century produced found in the bankruptcy of the French monarchy an opening through which it surged as the tumult and bloodshed of the French Revolution. The French bourgeoisie, rich, educated, and ambitious, had long chafed under the monopoly of political power and social prestige enjoyed by the decadent nobility. The bourgeoisie aimed to win a dominating position in a limited monarchy. The masses of the French people, however, maddened by the injustices and abuses of the Old Régime, swept over both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie to set up the first French Republic. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were the pass-words of the new régime. The "*Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen*" was the charter of world democracy. The designation "citizen" became the proud title of all free men. Reforms abolished feudal privileges and established individual liberties. Absolute monarchies in Europe shuddered and conspired with the French aristocracy to restore the older order. War came, followed by terror, victory,

The
Birth
of De-
mocracy

defeat, and the marching armies of a military dictator. Napoleon and his French citizen soldiers harried absolutism in its age-old strongholds, but he, too, passed, and the compromised but still vigorous absolutism returned, not only to Europe outside of France, but to France also.

Returned, yes, but to a new world. Complaisance to unequal privileges and obedience to arbitrary laws were no longer matter-of-fact political practices. Even the returning Bourbon carried a charter in his hand, but he soon aroused the French to another revolution with his laws which restricted suffrage to the richest, and which limited freedom of speech, press, and assembly. In 1830 a revolution set up a bourgeois controlled monarchy, and stimulated outbreaks in all parts of Europe. Only Belgium and France gained in democratic liberties. England, however, without revolution, extended suffrage to the middle class. The year 1848 brought another series of revolutions which swept many of the conservative leaders into the discard, and made inevitable the final triumph of popular government. Since the middle of the nineteenth century every state in the world has moved rapidly in the direction of political democracy. The democratic control of the national state is the supreme political element in contemporary culture.

At the root of the democratic theory of government is the idea of the equality of all men before the law, and as a corollary, the right of all men to participate in the making of the law. Sovereignty resides in the people, law is an expression of their will, and the power which belongs to the government in vindicating the law is derived from them. In theory the people both make and enforce the law.

Under monarchies or aristocracies the existence of the ruling class created a government, but when the people became sovereign, new governing institutions had to be set up. For this purpose constitutions were adopted, which established the agencies of government—executive, legislative, and judicial—and designated the rights and duties of citizens. A constitution is a fundamental law which neither government nor individuals may violate. Every important country in the world, except England, has made such a fundamental written law. The English constitution is an accumulation of precedents and statutes.

Since the democratic state derives its authority from the people, the individual must take part in its organization and operation. In doing so he becomes a "citizen," in which capacity he has certain rights and duties. His political rights are to vote and to hold office. Democracy presupposes that the judgment of the people, as expressed by their ballots, is the best method of arriving at a political decision, and likewise it presupposes that every man

**The
Triumph
of De-
mocracy
in Recent
Times**

**The
Elements
of Demo-
cratic
Govern-
ment**

**Equality
before the
Law**

**The Con-
stitution**

**The
Citizen**

is capable of holding office. That is to say, it offers him both rights. The citizen's duties are to exercise his political rights, to pay taxes, to bear arms in military service, and to be intelligently informed on questions of public importance. The rights and duties are complementary, because the citizen is responsible for both the conduct and the support of the government.

**Public
Opinion**

The "general will" upon which sovereignty rests is expressed by individual ballots, and in this expression public opinion becomes the determining factor. Traditional and scientific knowledge, special interests, personal ambitions, general notions, assumptions, and reiterated statements—all enter into the formation of this opinion. Newspaper publicity is of paramount importance. Political contests become struggles to control public opinion.

**Political
Parties**

In these struggles divisions in the opinions of the citizens emerge which take form in political parties. These parties, once in existence, become more or less permanent organizations with officials, treasuries, and members. They are organizations which steady the currents of opinion, unify the personnel of the government, and formulate its policies. As extra-constitutional institutions they may offer much opposition to good government, and may even countenance corruption, but democratic government appears to be impossible without them, for they are the direct means by which the government is controlled.

**Majority
Rule**

By elections the citizens express choices as to policies and select office-holders to carry out the program. In this process the vote of a majority or plurality gives to the selected policies a sanction which establishes their legality. The opponents of the decisions are bound, by the need for orderly government, to respect this legality. They may work for the reversal of decisions by the defeat of the chosen office-holders in future elections, but during the period between elections acceptance is expected and rightfully enforced. A majority or plurality exists by virtue of a created opinion to which all voters have the right to contribute. This right to contribute to the formation of public opinion, as exercised in freedom of speech, publication, and assembly, is mutual with the duty to accept the final verdicts. Democracy rests upon individual intelligence, and endures by individual acquiescence to legally made decisions.

**Political
Develop-
ment in
America
since the
Founding
of the
Federal
Govern-
ment**

Not one of the three chief characteristics of present American political organization—democracy, party government, and centralized national authority—existed when the federal constitution was put into action during the administrations of George Washington.

Present American democracy is a growth coördinate with that of world democracy since the French Revolution. This event brought into the new nation the first outburst of democratic senti-

ments, drew sharp lines between the aristocratic elements in control of the state and federal governments and the disfranchised masses, and contributed much to the opinion that elected Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800. Jefferson may be considered the father of American democracy, but even he was only a conservative believer in the right of the people to rule. He thought that the masses ought to elect the able and the intelligent—like himself, of course—to office. This position was, however, greatly in advance of that held by John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, who despised the common herd and looked upon government as the peculiar prerogative of the wealthy and socially eminent. Jefferson opposed ostentatious and monarchical tendencies in political and social organization. He was the protagonist of simplicity in all things, and especially he had faith in the unpolished judgments of common men. If men could not govern themselves, who could govern them? This was the Jeffersonian justification for democratic government. To give equal and exact justice to all men, to maintain equal industrial opportunities for them, to educate them, and to trust their majority decisions, were the cardinal principles in his theory of government. He was also an ardent advocate of the separation of church and state and of the supremacy of civil over military authority. Although the majority had the right to rule, he strenuously maintained that the rights of the minority to freedom of speech and the like should be respected. Free public discussion was the best safeguard against dangerous opinions. In the opinion of Jefferson, the protection of individual liberties was the great function of government. Resistance to assertive political authority he prized as the greatest virtue. *Laissez faire* economic doctrine provided the social philosophy necessary to complete the Jeffersonian concept of the state. From his election to that of Andrew Jackson, the struggle to democratize the state and federal governments dragged on. The Jacksonian concept of democracy was formed on the frontier. It was the new West invading the conservative East. To Jeffersonian democracy the West added the belief in the common man's right to rule. Manhood suffrage was secured in all parts of the union. State and congressional elections were made democratic, and the presidency itself, by the modification of the electoral college into a body which expressed the choice of the popular vote in the states, was brought more directly under the people's will. It was this new democracy which established the American tradition of the rise of the poor boy from the log-cabin to the White House, and gave meaning to that best of all definitions of democracy—"government of the people, by the people, for the people." Abraham Lincoln, more than any other man, exhibited

The
Growth of
American
Democracy

Thomas
Jefferson

Andrew
Jackson

Abraham
Lincoln

the greatness of the common man, his vision, and his aspirations. The middle decades of the nineteenth century brought victory to political democracy, both in America and in Europe.

The
Develop-
ment of
Party
Govern-
ment

The Two
Party
System

The Re-
alignment
of the
Parties

As originally organized, the federal government was not designed for party government, and Washington in his *Farewell Address* warned the country against the dangers of factions. Nevertheless, political parties soon appeared. The division between loyalists and patriots, the split between the supporters of the constitution and its opponents, and the more violent breach between the aristocratic elements and those democratically inclined, worked out in the formation of two important parties. The original parties, the Federalist and the Republican, represented in the main the division between the aristocratic supporters of the national government and the democratic adherents of states' rights. But it was not until the Jacksonian era that full-fledged party government was established, when party organizations were created, national nominating conventions came into use, and the spoils system of filling public offices was employed.

There are those who assert that the two-party system is necessary to the operation of the national government, and who therefore look upon parties as an integral part of the American political system. It is well to remember that all political parties are extra-legal institutions for the purpose of controlling the government. They are important as the expression of differences of opinion generated by the general conditions and problems of society, and as such they become important under all forms of responsible government. The original American parties came into existence as the result of the division over the federal constitution; they were succeeded by parties expressing the convictions as to the efficacy of political democracy. Once parties build up great national organizations, they cease to be sensitive to the general drift of new convictions, their interests being the maintenance of party organization and the winning of elections. The present political parties, the Republican and the Democratic, instead of expressing divisions of opinions arising from current forces, represent little more than the frozen party division of the slavery struggle. Since the Civil War, as a result of this unresponsive character of the established parties, there has been a steady effort to form a new national party to assert the progressive views on economic and social problems of the new industrial era. Although the attempts have not succeeded, the old parties have been driven against their desires to accept new doctrines. At present the established parties are quite alike in their fundamental political ideas, for each holds to the conservative view on the vital economic and social problems of the day. The realignment of present party divi-

sions must ultimately result in the formation of parties representing the issues arising from new concepts of political, economic, and social organization. However, without party government, it would be quite impossible to get unity of action or responsibility in the national government.

The third important political development since the adoption of the Constitution is the continuous extension of the power of the federal government. Since 1787 the insecure union has gone far toward a consolidation of the states. Alexander Hamilton's financial organization of the central administration was the first great stride in the direction of federal supremacy. He originated the doctrine of "implied powers," according to which the federal government may do everything necessary to the exercise of its delegated powers. John Marshall, as chief justice of the Supreme Court, carried further the supremacy of the federal authority. Following his work, the issue between the states and the federal government closed in a long debate. New England during the War of 1812 certainly trifled with the idea of secession; and the South, when convinced that the East and North aimed to abolish slavery, acted upon the principle of states' rights and left the union. Constitutionally, the Southern position was defensible, but from the point of view of nationalism it was not. As a result of the Civil War, the federal government—the agent of nationalism—was established as supreme over the states. Whatever original independent sovereignty existed within the states was suppressed in the Southern defeat. Since the Civil War the growth of federal power has gone on rather rapidly. The rise of the presidency to an office responsible for a legislative program as well as for executive action has contributed much to the extension of the central power. Such strong characters as Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson made the office the very heart of the government. The continuous creation of new departments and cabinet positions also evidences the growing power of the national administration. There are those today who point out the danger to local liberties evident in the expanding federal bureaucracy. The greatest extension of federal power, however, has come by court interpretations and by constitutional amendments. More and more fields of legislation originally left to the state are being opened to national enactment. The prohibition amendment and the proposed child labor amendment are but indications of the steady drift.

The American government has been a growing institution, for the Constitution has been made to yield to new social and economic concepts, while the states have acceded to limitations of their power which the founders of the federal government would never have sanctioned. The greatest feature of the American political

**The
Growth
of the
Federal
Govern-
ment**

**Alexander
Hamilton**

**John
Marshall**

**The Civil
War**

Cleveland

Roosevelt

Wilson

**The
Recent
Amend-
ments
to the
Constitu-
tion**

system has been the institutionalizing—by the power of amendment—of the right of revolution. The American people can remake their political institutions as they desire.

**Present
Problems
and Tendencies of
Political
Organization**

Since every portion of the social heritage is subject to maladjustment, the democratic forms of government exhibit certain defects. These, in turn, inspire proposals for changes in the general political system.

**The
Problem
of the
Control
over
Government**

Foremost among the problems of democracy is that of control over government. In theory government may be by law, but in practice it is by men. To participate in choosing these men is the right of the citizen. The voter is supposed to hold final control over the entire government, over its membership and its policies. The facts of the case, however, do not show the successful application of these theories. Between the voter and the government stand the parties. Their organization, rules, and practices prevent the direct expression of the voter's will. Furthermore, the "machine" often completely frustrates popular desire. A political machine is nothing more than the inside organization which controls the party, and through the party runs the government. The "boss" is the head of the machine. He is master of intrigue, a dealer in spoils, a manipulator of local interests, and often a master of corrupt practices. The boss and the machine thrive because of their ability to organize the voters under their leadership. The emoluments from office-holding, profits from public contracts, and income from protected violators of the law allow them to purchase success. States and cities suffer most from such political prostitution. Only insofar as the boss and the machine control the local organs of the national party do they affect the central administration.

**Party
Organization**

**The
Boss
and the
Machine**

**Economic
Interests**

Contemporary political issues arise largely from conflicting economic interests. What is known as the "invisible government" is nothing more than the control of policy and administration by great economic interests. The Washington lobby, made up of the representatives of all sorts of economic and social groups, represent the outward expression of such interests and their influence on government. Great corporations contribute to the campaign funds of all strong parties, and thereby obtain their favor wherever and whenever the parties get into power. The intimidation of employees, by threats of discharge, is one method of controlling the voter. Actual corruption of office-holders is not unknown. There is a growing conviction in America that economic power is the basis of much political favoritism. The appearance of the much deprecated "farm bloc" is only a frank acceptance of this conviction. Between the voter and his representative stand not only party machines and organized economic power, but also the difficulty in securing accurate knowledge upon which to make sound

judgment. The surest method of controlling government is to control the formation of public opinion. The politician's object is to get into office and to stay there, rather than to clarify the public mind on important issues. The result is that political speech-making has degenerated into a "ballyhooing from the band wagon—" most Americans recognize the politician at his face value. He has little effect on public opinion, but more subtle factors do exert a great influence. The press in its capacity as a news bearer ought to instruct the public mind fairly; but the great sheets have come under the control of economic interests and exhibit partisan bias to such an extent that confidence in their full and fair treatment of issues is seriously undermined.

**Public
Opinion**

Yet the greatest difficulty in forming intelligent public opinions is the limitation of the voter. He devotes little time to the study of political questions. Traditions and associations affect his views more than reflection based upon accurate information. He views all issues in the mirror of economic self-interest, and that party whose promises reflect his own warped vision, secures his support. Ideals and moral attitudes appear to be weak factors in determining political convictions. On the whole, the voter, intelligent or stupid, is growing lethargic. Since the Civil War the number of votes cast in proportion to the total number of qualified electors has steadily decreased. Government by consent of the governed is a fiction when silence is taken as assent. The belief that it is futile to vote is a great danger to democracy. It leaves government in the hands of the few—with whom, according to Lord Bryce, it always has rested. Under democratic government it is the assertive minority or the entrenched oligarchy which actually rules. The rule of the majority seems to have turned out to be a phantom, for the majority lazily assent to the leadership of the few. The genuine problem of control over government is to be found in the struggles of minorities to secure power in spite of, or with the sanction of, the many. Lack of interest and knowledge, as well as organized political and economic power, prevent the voter from exercising his sovereignty. In theory democratic government expresses the will of the majority, but in practice it often seems to be (in paraphrase) a government "of the minority, by the minority, for the minority."

**Government
by the
Minority**

Early advocates of democracy found one of their chief arguments in the uncontrolled expenditures of monarchs. The use of public funds to support favorites in luxury, to build magnificent palaces, and to maintain political and social privileges was a notorious evil in the eighteenth century. Then, too, taxes were levied, not according to the ability of the taxed to pay, but without rule or reason, or according to the weakness of the taxed.

**The Problem of
Public
Finance**

**Waste
and Un-
regulated
Expendi-
tures**

Democracy, however, has not abolished waste nor devised an equitable taxation system. The "pork barrel" is an infamous congressional method of plundering the national treasury. By this system useless waterways, postal buildings, naval establishments, and military posts have soaked up enormous sums of the people's money. Padded expense accounts, fictitious employees and exorbitant contract prices are less facile methods of raiding state and local treasuries. What is everybody's business becomes nobody's business, with the result that "graft" is recognized as a prerogative of office-holding. Efficient and honest financial administration is looked upon as being only a little less than Utopian.

**Increased
Taxes**

Not only has waste characterized democratic administration, but the cost of government has greatly increased. National, state, and local taxes have been forced higher and higher. New functions of government, such as maintaining hospitals and asylums, health, factory and building inspection, road construction, and education have played a great part in the tax increases. Bureaucratic administration, unregulated budgets, and plain "graft" have added further burdens. War, however, is the greatest drain on the public chest. More than 85 per cent of the national revenue goes to pay for past wars and for preparations for future ones. Bankruptcy, already a menace to several European states, will be a very real probability if another conflict engulfs the world. War not only takes much money, but it is destructive of the economic intercourse upon which governments are dependent for support.

The recent adoption of budgets by the federal and several state governments is an attempt to put some order into public expenditures. To raise the enormously increased sums, many new taxes, as well as increases in old ones, have been adopted. For local and state purposes the chief levy is a direct property tax. National revenues are derived from customs and internal levies such as the income and excise taxes.

**The Con-
troversy
over
Taxation**

At present, one of the chief problems of government is that of revising tax schedules in such a way as to bring increased revenues, while at the same time creating the least economic distress. The property-owning elements of the population desire taxes on general articles of consumption, throwing the burden of government maintenance on the incomes of the poorer classes. The Republican plan of tax revision harmonizes with this view of the problem. In this theory the function of government is to look after the wealthy, and the wealthy will look after the poor. The contrasting view of the tax question sees the burden shifted by means of higher income and the excess profit taxes to the rich. Opponents of this policy protest that increased levies on the wealth-holding population drive capital from productive enterprise and disturb the economic life

of the nation. The tariff, as a continually reappearing issue, finds its vitality in this same controversy. The adherents of the protective rates find them to be stimulants to prosperity, while their opponents criticise the duties as establishing monopolies and maintaining special privileges to the general detriment of the people. In fact, the growth of the tax burden and the controversy over the kinds of taxes merge into the greater problem of the general functions of government.

The original scope of state action was the protection of group life, against both external and internal enemies. On the one hand, it was a military establishment, and on the other, a police department. Often these two functions were left to military control, with the result that civil liberty was at the mercy of armed force. The making of war and peace is still an essential function of the state, but modern times have shown the need for and possibility of greater internal activity. As has already been noted, the tax burden is increased both by the expenses of war and by the cost of these new services. The conservatives on the taxation question adhere to the eighteenth century view of the functions of government. Economic liberalism saw the state as a "passive policeman." To preserve order, to protect property and life, and to provide education were its chief functions. Certainly there was to be no interference in economic life. Economic liberalism, as the current faith of capitalism, retains this concept of governmental functions.

The present advocates of the newer types of taxation look upon the state as a means of securing social and economic justice. Since "the power to tax is the power to destroy," they find in it a means for removing evident abuses and for securing a more equitable distribution of wealth. Furthermore, they believe that the government ought to control all individual enterprises which affect directly the public welfare. Government regulation of all industries, with the public ownership of some of them, is part and parcel of the program of those who would use taxation as an instrument of social reform. To the individualistic view of government's function, they oppose the collectivist concept. Collectivism draws its chief support from those who believe that modern life is too complex to allow the individual complete independence of action.

Three other views of the functions of government receive some support. Anarchism looks upon the state as the enemy of the individual and would abolish it. The anarchist is the supreme individualist: he would leave no functions to the state. State socialism invites the government to take over the ownership of all economic enterprises. It would extend the function of the state to a complete administration of the economic system. Com-

**The
Problem
of the
Function
of Govern-
ment**

**War and
Peace**

**The
"Passive
Police-
man"
State**

**Individ-
ualism**

**Collectiv-
ism**

Anarchism

**State
Socialism**

**Commun-
ism**

munism goes still further and desires state control of all human activity. It would merge the state and society. These three views of the functions of government are under a more or less general condemnation on the ground that their application will be destructive of social well-being. In America the conflict is between the adherents of individualism and collectivism, with all indications pointing to the slow victory of the latter. It should be noted that the chief theories of the functions of government are closely related to the various proposals for the solution of the industrial problem. In fact, the great problems of contemporary life arise from the same general situation—the condition of stresses and strains developed in the traditional and established order by the rapid scientific and industrial changes of the past century. The fundamental unity of social and cultural development imposes upon government, as well as upon all other institutions, the general transformation of both its functions and forms.

**The
Problem
of the
Form of
Govern-
ment**

Democratic government, as originally developed, only aimed to place the choice of the office-holders in the hands of the electors, and property qualifications at first restricted the electorate to the wealthy. The nineteenth century extended the ballot to practically all men. The last decade gave the ballot to women. That this sudden extension of the electorate is likely to bring any abrupt improvement in government, however, is probably a false hope. It does not appear that the women as a whole are any better or any worse informed than the male electors. The justification for woman suffrage is in the growing recognition of woman's equality with man and not in her special ability to render political service. This general extension of the suffrage made the representative systems responsible to the people as a whole. With this decline in the distrust of the people, representative democracy came to be supplemented by elements of direct democracy aiming to place the executive, legislative, and judicial organs of government under the immediate control of the people. The Swiss people led in this development. Several western American states have found the new devices both workable and efficient. By the recall, the office-holder may be called to account for his acts, and if a majority of the voters desires, he may be removed from office. By the initiative and referendum, the voters may secure desired legislation or pass judgment on proposed enactments. By the recall of judges or their decisions, the courts are subjected to the same popular control.

Still other developments show that the original distrust of the people by the founders of the federal government has been replaced by a more general confidence in their capacity to rule. Senators now are elected directly by the people, and the direct election of the

president is advocated. This reform is proposed largely because since the Civil War there have been two elections in which the defeated candidate has polled a larger vote than the victor. Voting by state in the electoral college, of course, accounts for this defeat of the popular will. Direct democracy is only one of several departures from the earlier representative systems. In the English and American systems, members of legislatures are chosen by districts, a fixed geographic area containing a definite number of people. By periodically readjusting the election districts representation is made fair and equal. Recent modifications of the representative system attempt to base representation on conviction or occupation. By proportional representation each political party secures a number of members in the legislature proportionate to the amount of the vote it polls in the total vote cast. The new German and Czecho-Slovak republics adopted this system.

**Direct
Democracy**

**Proportional
Representation**

Occupational representation is a more radical departure. It is based upon the theory that the genuine divisions of interest in a population are by occupation and profession, and that a more vital representation can be secured by allowing each economic group to send delegates to a body where all economic interests merge. Occupational representation is a clear recognition of the present economic basis of politics. The Soviet government of Russia is founded upon this principle. To secure a quick application of this principle in American government it would be necessary only to turn the present "lobby" at Washington into a national legislature, with an elective committee from its members in charge of administration. Such a direct operation of the living political forces in society has yet to demonstrate its effectiveness as a form of government.

**Occupational
Representation**

Although democracy has spread over the world and shown the adaptive capacity necessary for survival, it is not without enemies. The Bourbon surrenders but never dies. Recently the President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works asserted that the best thing that could happen to the United States would be an indefinite adjournment of Congress. Politics interferes with business. Investigation, regulation, and elections disturb the quiet functioning of economic power. Vested interests fear the latent strength of the people. The political and economic conservatives desire nothing more than a release from this fear. The East shudders even now with each thought of 1896 and Bryan. But the enemies of democracy are not alone the aristocrat and the plutocrat; there are the radical socialist and the syndicalist who would meet the two former worthies in their own style. For the dictatorship of the well-born or the rich, the radicals would substitute the "dictator-

**Recent
Attacks
on De-
mocracy**

**The
Vested
Interests
Fear De-
mocracy**

**The Dic-
tatorship
of the
Proleta-
riat**

ship of the proletariat." It is only a century from the disfranchisement of mechanic, ditch-digger, and cultivator to the disfranchisement of the banker, employer, and merchant, or at least so it seems when one looks at the electoral laws of England and France during the early nineteenth century and those of Russia today. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander in the merry feast of political usurpation. Not the rule of the people, but the rule of the special group, is the desire of conservative and radical alike.

The Intellectual
Aristocracy

In recent years there has been still another attack upon political democracy. Intelligence testing has revived the old idea of the people's incapacity to rule. The voter of low mentality is held to be a menace to good government and the proper stuff for organized political corruption. A number of psychologists, educators, and lawyers are already on record to the effect that only the "intelligent"—the "intellectual aristocracy"—should be allowed to vote and to hold office. The difficulty in setting up the "dictatorship of the intelligent," in the sense meant by these gentlemen, is the difficulty in discovering the qualified electors. It has already been suggested that intelligence tests in the present forms cannot be taken as sufficiently trustworthy to warrant final conclusions. Until such scientific accuracy and agreement are secured that "intelligence" can be defined, let alone measured, this effort to modify present democracy must remain ineffectual. It is evident that traditional democracy—the rule of the people—is not established so securely that it may not be sharply modified. If it is true, as Lord Bryce said, that government is always by the few, it may be expected that all of these theoretical modifications of democracy will be used by those whose interests they serve. The form of government reflects the dominant power and interest in the social life of a period.

The Need of
Respect
for the
Law

Even greater than the question of the form of government and the problem of its control and support, is that of the declining respect for law. There is too little appreciation of the nature of law as the surviving judgments of the ages indicating the equitable and just relations among men. The famous question, "What is the constitution between friends?" is quite in harmony with the rising disregard for law. Too many laws and especially foolish laws (like those forbidding tipping, or requiring baby cabs to carry lights), lax enforcement by police officials, and bad decisions by the courts have contributed to the general disregard for legal authority. When it is discovered that a large part of the officials of a great city are in league with the violators of law, when wealth can be rather certain of leniency, and when "unwitting violation" may excuse a bank president from proper

damages, it is little wonder that many people grow cynical about securing justice under present conditions. Again, when men will deprive others of a fair trial, or of their rights of free speech and assemblage, or will invade their premises, or will violate their persons, for patriotic reasons or any other, and at the same time passively acquiesce or actively engage in violating the Constitution and federal statutes, it is too much to expect that constituted authority will receive a high respect. Of late, mob law has been much invoked. This is no better than the "direct action" of the syndicalists whom the same mobs so heartily condemn. War spirit, growing economic antagonisms, and race prejudices are responsible for these more violent abortions of justice. The citizen in a democracy has, theoretically at least, a responsibility for the making and enforcing of law. If those who decry the laxity of prohibition enforcement were to do their proper duty in aiding officials, there would be a firmer spirit back of prohibition. Laws which men do not respect they will not obey; government by the consent of the governed is true in the long run: thus "blue laws," which closed stores and prohibited Sunday amusements, have fallen into disrepute. Obnoxious legislation soon receives the same fate. To allow such statutes to remain without enforcing them weakens the entire body of the law. Government is always by men. Appeals may be made to fundamental law, but its interpretation comes by the way of human judgment. Even through the law human motives and interests have worked toward favoritism. The effect of this general condition of government has been to make observance of the law an act of fear more than of duty—to get caught seems to be the greatest crime. That the law is a safeguard rather than a restriction needs to be better learned.

But there has been too much loose talk about the failure of government and law to give justice. One of the ingrained attitudes of mind in present culture seems to be criticism of political agents and institutions. The "technicality of the law" is the bugaboo of those who cry for swift justice. These critics fail to realize that the technicality is a necessary means of protecting individual liberties. These critics would not wish to revise the foot or the inch as units of measure just because the distance they wished to measure would not come out in even units. The technicality is a fixed rule of law, and serves to give consistency to the procedure which must continually alter itself to meet human conditions. Human life is very complex, and the law must meet its complexities. This misunderstanding of the nature of law is typical of the reasoning which sees all politics as corrupt and inefficient. Contemporary critics ought to recall the iniquities of the irresponsible monarchies and the corruptions of the subsequent plutocracies

**The Un-
reasoning
Criticism
of De-
mocracy
and Gov-
ernmental
Insti-
tutions**

before they glibly assert that "democracy is a failure." Under democracy one thing is certain: government is no better and no worse than the people themselves. If the courts are biased, it is because the people are willing to receive special favors. If office-holders are corrupt, it is because the people are willing to use government for private advantage. Public authority and law are merely forms of social coöperation if they function badly there are none to blame except those whose ideals of public honesty and fair play are low.

The continuous criticism of existing institutions thrives upon the recurring examples of corruption and inefficiency—examples which, in relation to the totality of governmental acts, are relatively few. On the whole, government is neither corrupt nor inefficient: it is awkward rather than intentionally crude. If the energy expended in such criticism were directed toward an effective participation in public business, there would be less to criticise. A democratic government reflects the levels of honesty, judgment, and intelligence of a people. The holier-than-thou attitude of political malcontents, who in their failure to exert an influence for good government contribute as much to the evils of political life as those who are actually corrupt, deserves a severe censure. The great need in contemporary political life is a realization by the citizen of his responsibility, and then the unhesitating will to act upon it. Whatever failure can be charged to democratic institutions is the failure of the citizens, not of the institutions.

The
World of
States

The
Modern
State
System
Types of
States

The peoples of the earth are organized in states under governments, each pursuing policies which, in aim at least, seek the common good of each group. Some of these states are unitary, *i. e.*, made up of a single nationality with a centralized government. A few others are federal states, *i. e.*, made up of separate political units, each preserving a local jurisdiction yet at the same time subject to a central authority. France is an example of the former, the United States of the latter. These unitary and federal states by holding other peoples under their sovereignty without the consent of the subject people become empires. From this point of view both France and the United States are empires. Great Britain, with her world-wide possessions and coöperating commonwealths such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the Irish Free State, is the greatest of these empires.

Whether unitary, federal, or imperial, each of these states is a law unto itself, sovereign, unbound by either legal or moral bonds other than those self-imposed. And self-interest is the sole guide to action. The modern state system, therefore, in this uncontrolled sovereignty of the separate units, reduplicates on a grander scale

the chaos of feudalism. "International anarchy" is the best brief description of that condition which exists among the states of the earth. Power alone is the protector of justice and security. The age-old fallacy that "might makes right" seems to reign supreme in the minds of those who direct the policies of government.

**International
Anarchy**

This state system was born at the close of the Middle Ages. Machiavelli's *Prince* did no more than describe the conditions then existing among the warring North Italian cities—the cities which first exhibited the modern social organization in all of its phases. The rising secular state soon found its true mission to be the exercise of power. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494, because it had for its object the aggrandizement of national power, has been called the "first modern war." In this union of national feeling and quest for power appeared that strident nationalism which filled all subsequent centuries with bloodshed and devastation. The Commercial Revolution brought a scramble to secure territories in the newly discovered continents, with the result that national feelings were intensified, and the lower races subjugated or enslaved. Above all, the European states fought each other for mastery in the transoceanic regions. The war between England and Spain, 1585–1604, in which England won the control of the seas by defeating the Armada, was the first of a series of conflicts arising from these national and imperial rivalries. At the opening of the seventeenth century Holland drove Portugal from the East Indies, but in the middle of the century England expelled the Dutch from the New World and forced them to share the Orient with her. At the end of the century England and France began the duel for world dominion which dragged on for more than a hundred years—until Napoleon rested on the rocky island of St. Helena. These early conflicts were fought for commercial gain and territorial dominion. In the nineteenth century, after the Industrial Revolution had given greater value to all economic resources, imperialism became ever more virulent. It became openly economic. Capitalists of western states carried their investments into every part of the non-European world. Who was to control the markets, to exploit the resources, to provide the capital, and to make the loans in the great unclaimed areas of the earth? In the struggles of the economic masters of the western world to answer this question there came bitter quarrels, and political support by the several governments to their respective entrepreneurs raised the quarrels to the status of international crises. And the popular excitation of national feelings added tensivity to these situations. Thus nationalism and imperialism

**National-
ism and
Imperial-
ism**

**The Old
Colonial
Struggles**

**The New
Economic
Imperial-
ism**

carried the great western states into a mad scramble for the control or possession of the comparatively undefended and unclaimed areas of the earth.

First the African continent was partitioned and Old Asia marked for division; then Japan awoke from her centuries of slumber, to become the Oriental counterpart of the western invaders; and at the very end of the century the imperial wars broke forth anew. The United States drove Spain from the Caribbean Sea and won a foothold in the Far East. At the same time England struck down the South African Boers, and came face to face with French forces in the Egyptian Sudan. The rise of the German Empire to world power, however, forced the European states to readjust their antipathies and friendships. In 1904 Japan crushed Russian ambitions in Manchuria. This weakening of France's ally gave Germany an opening to assert her interests in Morocco. With the first Moroccan crisis of 1905 began that series of crises which ended in the conflagration of 1914. England drew close to France, and settled her difficulties with Russia. Germany, in the meantime, pushed her interests in the Balkans and Asia Minor. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 reopened the Balkan question, and merged the Near East antagonisms and interests in those arising from overseas imperialism. Austria-Hungary, Germany's ally, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Italy seized Tripoli. Russia, France, and England drew closer the bonds of diplomatic, military, and naval coöperation. In 1912 the minor Balkan States, in an alliance formed under Russian stimulation, all but drove Turkey from Europe. The rise of Serbia, among these lesser states, was looked upon by Austria as a threat to her existence in Central Europe. The murder of the heir to the Austrian throne by Serbian nationalists in June of 1914 was the act which brought the nationalistic and imperialistic organization of the world down like a house of cards into the chaos and destruction of the World War. This latest exhibition of the "natural relation among states" was only a fitting expression of the anarchy which their self-aggrandizements created. The state, the sole uncontrolled agent of social action, in following power as its guide, brought itself in the bloody debauch of 1914-1918 to the very edge of ruin.

Modern military tacticians teach that an enemy is, like the stranger to primitive man, merely "game," and that war itself is the greatest of games, the hunting of human beings. The continuous wars of modern times have reached an ever grander scale as economic and scientific developments have provided the means, but they still are only the survival of the relationships that existed between the early in-group and out-group. This survival has carried the savage and barbaric desires for military show and

The
World
War
1914-1918

War and
Social
Organiza-
tion

splendor into the heart of modern culture. The bull-roarer of the savage tribe has become the brass band of the patriotic parade. The seething hysteria of the war-dance has become the nation-wide campaign to arouse morale. Militarism with its worship of flags, its making every man a soldier, and its glorification of victory, has been matured in the hearts of modern men. As a result, the national populations have been organized into great military machines, with both active and reserve forces ready for the emergency of war. But more subtle has been the permeation of educational, religious, and political thinking by the militarist idea that war itself is a virtuous thing. Ideas and ideals, as well as men, have been regimented for military service. War has been described as a glorious enterprise, rare in its pageantry, and rich in the stimulation of the virtues of courage, loyalty and sacrifice. Modern times have prostituted group patriotism to war-gods.

Militarism

War, however, has been a means to great ends. Liberties have been won and preserved by such efforts. The great difficulty has been that liberties so won quite often have been destroyed by the power that won them. Every victorious army loves its Cæsar. The Puritan Revolution brought its Cromwell. The French Revolution reared up its Napoleon. Every American war but the last has carried some commander to the presidency. In effect, wars have been great agents for social change. Regardless of victory or defeat, there always result loss of population, debt, impoverishment, crime-waves, hate, and revenge; and these set in motion forces which work themselves out in social change. The present situation in all of its phases is ample evidence of the broad social effects of war. In militarism, war gives to social organization the characteristics of an armed camp. In its broader social effects war is the greatest single destructive factor in contemporary life. Present nationalistic, imperialistic, and militaristic rivalries threaten to engulf the peoples in another holocaust more terrible than the one just closed.

The Destructive Influence of War

No sooner had the modern state system appeared than attempts were made to organize its anarchy into some orderliness. Diplomacy in its modern form developed in North Italy. The Dutch, being a small people desirous of peace for their economic enterprises, began the work of creating a body of international law. Grotius drew together the customary practices and principles embodied in treaties between states in an effort to define the conditions of belligerency and the rights of neutrals. In subsequent development the rights of combatants and noncombatants on both land and sea were worked out. No agency for the enforcement of this law has ever existed, and consequently it has tended to be violated by every state in times of crisis. In the late war, with

The Attempt to Prevent the Outbreak of Wars**Diplomacy****International Law**

**The
Balance
of Power**

Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality and England's repudiation of the London rules as to contraband of war, international law became nothing but a "scrap of paper." Its service has been not to maintain peace, but to make possible an orderly relation among the states in time of peace. In war such rules and regulations have been sacrificed to self-interest. The organization of the competing powers into two equally balanced groups has been the historic method of maintaining peace. The theory behind the "balance of power" is that each side will be so nearly equal to the other in strength that the prospect of victory by either will be so slight that neither will dare to risk a war. When one side has found an opportune moment and a probable advantage for attacking the other, the balance has always been broken. Thus the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente faced each other for a decade, each arming and waiting for the critical moment. The moment came and the balance fell—in July 1914. Such balances have been no preventive of war: they have simply tended to organize greater wars. Armed force has been no antidote for the poison of war.

**Arbitra-
tion**

The failure of diplomacy, international law, and balances of power to prevent wars has brought many proposals to create an international agency to preserve peace. Henry IV of France prepared such a project, the eighteenth century brought several unofficial schemes, and the victors over Napoleon organized the Holy Alliance. This alliance was conceived in the spirit of Christian brotherhood but soon became the international organ of the monarchical reaction. Arbitration of international disputes—477 cases between 1794 and 1900—was the important development of the nineteenth century. The Alabama Claims dispute between the United States and Great Britain was the most famous case. The century ended with the creation of the Hague tribunal, a body to which disputing parties might refer their respective claims. The conference at the Hague in 1898 and 1907 also codified the rules of "civilized warfare."

**The Peace
Movement**

These achievements were not the only evidence of a general movement for peace. The first society to further world peace was founded in the United States in 1815. The English Peace Society was organized in 1816. In the course of the century these early societies inspired the formation of a great number of similar organizations: there were the Church Peace Union, the Inter-Parliamentary Union for International Arbitration, and the League to Enforce Peace, among others. In the decade prior to the World War these agencies carried on much propaganda for the creation of some international organization to maintain peace. During the war the movement took on vitality, and under the

**The
League
of Nations**

able leadership of Woodrow Wilson came to fruition in the present League of Nations. Today this League with some fifty-four member states and a secretariat at Geneva, Switzerland, is functioning to preserve the peace of the world.

At present the general efforts of the advocates of peace are directed toward securing a reduction of military and naval establishments. The Washington agreement between Great Britain, Japan, and the United States aimed to end the competition in naval construction among the great sea powers. A recent protocol issued by the League of Nations offers a program for the general disarmament of the world. To Denmark, if the government carries out its proposal to abolish both the army and the navy, will go the glory of setting the example of international faith and good will necessary for the final abolition of war.

**Disarma-
ment**

Certainly the movement for world peace is one of the great cultural forces of contemporary life. The status of the League of Nations as an international government is as yet uncertain; but even in its imperfection the League is that historical precedent from which the ultimate organization of the world for peace will grow. There is the prospect of order being brought out of the chaos which has reigned among the states throughout recent times.

The United States of America began its independent career in 1783. It was the successful outcome of the Revolutionary War,—in which the French Alliance, Dutch and Spanish belligerency and the Armed Neutrality of the North contributed to the defeat of Great Britain,—that introduced this new nation into the modern state system. From these conditions of victory in the Revolutionary War to the participation in the World War, the United States, in spite of a steady effort to preserve isolation, has always tended to become involved in European and world situations. America's "splendid isolation" has been a myth. Indeed, the Monroe Doctrine, which asserted the supreme interest of the United States in the western hemisphere, owed its origin to the European desire to restore the South Americans to the sovereignty of Spain. Furthermore, British suggestion played a part in the enunciation of the doctrine, and British acquiescence and support have been in some measure responsible for its successful maintenance. While European powers strove for overseas dominion, the American people swept westward from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific. The war with Mexico must be listed with the imperialistic struggles of the nineteenth century, and the Indian Wars must be seen in the same light as those conflicts which carried British arms to the limits of India, and the French flag across the Sahara. Nor did American imperialism stop at the Rio Grande and the Pacific. North to Alaska, across the Pacific to the Philippines, south to

**The
United
States
in the
World
of States**

**"Isola-
tion"**

**The
Monroe
Doctrine**

**Imperial-
ism**

Panama, and southeast to Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, territorial expansion was carried.

In the past two decades economic imperialism—the investment of capital, the making of loans, and the exploitation of resources in foreign lands—has developed rapidly. As a result of the Spanish-American War, Cuba became an independent state in name but a protectorate of the United States in fact. An article in the Cuban constitution binds her government to respect American interests. By treaty Nicaragua occupies a similar position. Both Santo Domingo and Haiti have been policed by United States marines, and American officials collect their customs. Ecuador and Peru have American fiscal advisers. Mexican natural resources in oils, minerals, and lands, together with railroads, have provided investments for much American capital. American economic interests in the Caribbean areas necessitate the maintenance of stable governments in those countries, which have provided in the past the examples of “comic opera” revolutions. The advance across the Pacific brought an abrupt contact with the Japanese. Since then race prejudice has sharpened the clash of political and economic interests, and the Pacific Ocean promises to be the scene of distinct international complications.

Interest
in World
Peace

But in spite of the general imperialistic career of the nation, the American people have remained pacific. To this the unfortified boundary between Canada and the United States is sufficient testimony. American diplomacy has been featured by the use of arbitration, especially in disputes with Great Britain. The Bryan Treaties make possible a much wider use of this method of adjusting conflicting interests. An interest in world peace has been dominant in the minds of the leaders and the people of the nation. After the Civil War the military traditions of the people were allowed to lapse and the Spanish War was too brief to arouse them; but the World War fully revived them, with the result that at the end of the hostilities the attempt to fasten universal military training on the country received much support. It is not too much to say that militarism increased as a result of American participation in the World War. The failure of the nation to enter the League of Nations was due quite as much to the narrowing influence of militaristic nationalism as it was to disapproval of the League as organized. American leaders accept the policy of coöperation with the world, but refuse to bind the nation to obligations the unforeseen result of which may be participation in European and Asiatic conflicts. The nation, however, in spite of the generally pacific attitude of the people, has not made its full power for peace felt in the councils of the world. Official participation in some international organiza-

tion for maintaining peace and preventing war is yet to be achieved.

Rome, the first world state, was founded on force, and all other empires have been fashioned with the same tool. The new world state is arising on the secure basis of human need and social growth. Under the modern social heritage, the world is an economic unit, its knowledge is a common possession, and intercommunication is creating a social unity. Now no man can be secure from diseases prevalent in any part of the earth. No Englishman can live without food from overseas. America cannot prosper without products from the ends of the earth. The new territories call for the capital and leadership of the older civilized areas. From this interdependence and coöperation there is developing a functional unity of humanity. To protect individual lives, to control all influences which endanger them, and to administer to their needs, law and the functions of government are being developed in their international aspects. Modern civilization, as compounded in the content of the accumulated social heritage, carries along with its advantages a complexity which creates new dangers, dangers which only the political organization among the states of the world can counteract.

**The
Basis of
World
Political
Organiza-
tion**

The ancient state was an engine of oppression; the feudal state was weak and irresponsible; the modern state has been both strong and assertive. Certainly the unified sovereign state has been the dominant institution of modern times. Some thinkers have identified the state with society, while others have seen it as a legal person, and still others have found in it an ideal to which the individual ought to sacrifice himself. Actually, the state is an instrument for serving collective needs. Historically, it has given the order necessary for the accumulation of wealth, the spread of education, and the refinement of social relations. But man existed before the state, and his nature does not receive a complete expression through its acts. The other social institutions also serve to express his nature. Both man and society are greater than the state, and there are political theorists who vision a release of the other social institutions from the absolute power of the present state. As a functioning institution the modern absolute state represents man's incapacity to achieve self-control. Its power of compulsion is the means by which society establishes a final control over the individual, and compulsion is not a high motive to action. At present the state compels the individual to serve society, and at the same time brings social services to him. Whenever recognized social responsibility and loyalty may impel the individual to those services which compulsion now extorts, then the state

**The
Rôle
of the
State in
Social
Develop-
ment**

may become more an institution expressing the coöperation which exists within society; it may become an effective means of organizing the technique of collective action in securing social welfare. The state will endure to meet this need for collective action, and its functions will be determined by the complexities which developing culture will establish in the meeting of this general social need. Modern times have shifted the control of government from the few to the many, from the sword to the ballot; the present is altering the functions of government from punishing to serving, from the policeman to the guardian; the future promises to transform the bonds of political organization from force to sympathy, from compulsion to understanding. As the identity of the individual and society is more and more realized, the state will develop the forms and functions which will administer to the common needs of men.

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- Case. Chap. 17, Foundations of government and law.
- Chapin. Chap. 9, The transition from tribal society to civil society.
- Goldenweiser. Chaps. 12, 13, Society.
- Breasted. Chap. 13, The age of tyrants.
 Chap. 14, The growing rivalry between Athens and Sparta.
 Chap. 16, The struggle between Athens and Sparta.
 Chap. 17, The final conflict among the Greek states.
 Chap. 23, The supremacy of the Roman Republic in Italy.
 Chap. 25, World dominion and degeneracy.
 Chap. 29, A century of revolution and the division of the Empire.
 Chap. 30, The triumph of the barbarians.
- Stawell and Marvin. Chap. 6, Rome, republican, imperial and decadent.
- Thorndike. Chap. 2, The Roman Empire.
 Chap. 4, The decline of the Roman Empire.
 Chap. 14, The feudal states of Europe.
 Chap. 25, The growth of national institutions in England.
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- Chap. 6, A time of great danger.
- Chap. 7, The work of the fathers.
- Chap. 8, Setting the new government in motion.
- Chap. 10, Jeffersonian democracy.
- Chap. 14, The Jacksonian era.
- Chap. 34, A progressive era.
- Schlesinger. Chap. 4, The decline of aristocracy in America.
- Chap. 5, Radicalism and conservatism in American history.
- Chap. 7, The American Revolution.
- Chap. 8, Economic aspects of the movement for the constitution.
- Chap. 9, The significance of Jacksonian democracy.
- Chap. 10, The states rights fetish.
- Chap. 12, The riddle of the parties.
- Leacock. Part II. Chaps. 1-8 The structure of government.
- Dewey and Tufts. Chap. 21, Civil society and the political state.
- Ross. Chap. 43, The state.
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- Hayes. Vol. I. Chap. 2, The commercial revolution.
- Chap. 9, The world conflict of France and Great Britain.
- Hayes. Vol. II. Chap. 27, The new imperialism.
- Chap. 28, Spread of European civilization in America and Africa.
- Chap. 29, The British Empire.
- Chap. 30, International relations (1871-1914) and the outbreak of the War of the Nations.
- Chap. 31, The great War of the Nations. 1914-1918.
- Chap. 32, Preparations for peace.
- Chap. 33, The peace of Paris.

- Baker-Crothers, Hudnut. Chaps. 28, 29, Great American foreign policies.
 Chap. 30, Causes of war.
 Chap. 31, Means of preventing war.

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CHAPTER X

THE ACCUMULATION OF THE SOCIAL HERITAGE: SOCIAL VALUES

Man, as he has lived through the ages, has been served by the social institutions—the family, economic organization, education, religions, and political forms—the development of which the previous chapters have traced. In their varying forms and rôles these institutions have given uniqueness to different periods of time, and in the main they constitute the core of the social heritage; but they have never before and do not now entirely restrain man's life within their forms. Fundamental to each of them is some primal need or instinct of the race. In a like manner, at the base of every social order is the entire content of man's original nature, and every social system from savagery to present civilization has been an expression of these original human energies. The social institutions have never existed apart from one another; rather they have always been inextricably tied together in the general life of every age. All too often this general life, as viewed from the present, seems no more than the grandeur of kings, the grace of queens, and the piety of priests; but indeed, this has never been true. Rather, the general life of men has been long and hard labor, hunger, passion, and fallen hopes, blended with tears, laughter, and caresses. Men, women, children—high and low, meek and proud, sinners and saints, serving themselves in loyalty, misery, and fear—comprise more fully the life of every age than does that sort of history which is chronicled in the deeds of the great and near great. A social order is an organization of life, the life of the many who follow its ways and whose being it serves. All things in all men and all men in all things have established every social order. For purposes of study one may isolate and analyze institutions and events, but for purposes of understanding one must comprehend the entity and unity of life as one functioning expression of man's inborn tendencies and capacities. Although social institutions may map the field of life, they do not exhibit its topography, for within, about, and over them are other forms of social life which complete the expression of man's original nature. Chief among these overlying and permeating elements are those which may be termed the "social values"; *i. e.*, the things in

**The
Entity
of Life**

**A Social
Order
Serves
Every
Element
in Man's
Original
Nature**

**Social
Values
Complete
the Ex-
pression
of Man's
Original
Nature**

life which men call "good" and "desirable," for which they will work, suffer, and die—those things in which they find their pleasure, put their faith, or measure the rewards of effort. The social institutions play a great part in establishing these desirable ends and ideals, but they serve the ideals as much as they determine them. On every level of society, men pour out their energies in the pursuit of aims, ideals, and aspirations. In this pursuit they gather uncertain rewards, they permit evident vices, they avoid well-known virtues, and they assert doubtful ideals. Every age expresses man's inborn nature; these "social values" complete the release of the energies which the social heritage permits. By them man's life is rounded out, for into associations based upon needs come endeavor and purpose, impelled by desire and choice. Necessity sets moving in life a current; values mark its flood tide, as well as the marshes of its distresses and the canyons of its achievements. Social values give meaning to the entity of life.

**The
Place
of a
Standard
of Values
in the
Social
Heritage**

**Difficulty
of Deter-
mining Ex-
act Stand-
ards of
Value**

**Values are
Relative**

Life has been said to consist of "work, play, love, and worship," and its essential interests have been listed as "health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness." Even if life can be described so simply, it is evident that the emphasis which may be placed upon each of these fundamental activities or essential interests, may vary among them at any one time, and that it will be constant upon none of them through the longer periods. Social values, therefore, are unstable, and represent more accurately the emphasis which an age or people may place upon some activities or interests rather than any fundamental worth of the activities or interests in themselves. Among the diversity of activities and interests which man's original nature is capable of performing or seeking, it is difficult to establish a fixed standard of values: whatever men call good and desirable, may be taken to have in their estimation a high worth; whatever they seek with little effort or deliberately avoid, may be deemed of little value to them. Values are relative, not absolute: only as they serve some element in man's original nature do they exist at all. As they satisfy this nature, they may represent a selection of satisfactions among a great number of similar or recompensing satisfactions. Men in all ages have sought amusement, but how differently have they found it! The ancient Greeks gathered at their Olympic games, Romans at gladiatorial combats, and medieval knights at jousts; Americans gather at baseball games, and Spaniards at bullfights. Each of these people undoubtedly found or finds pleasure in the exhibitions, but the Americans, although they would enjoy the prowess of a Greek athlete, would find little satisfaction in the bloodshed and death of the fiercer spectacles of Rome and Madrid. Perhaps the pageantry and excitement of a joust would minister to the same

SOCIAL HERITAGE: SOCIAL VALUES 317

cravings which the prize-fight with its gaudy bathrobes and thudding fists satisfies. Among many possible activities and interests man may seek some with righteous intensity, while others he may find disgusting,—whichever his attitude, he will achieve a satisfaction and expression of his original nature that he calls “good.”

No strict classification of social values is possible, but certain types of satisfactions and attainments have received the sanction of all ages. Although they have varied from age to age, they have endured as types. There are those forms of activity which men claim as their “rights,” there are others which they perform as “duties,” others which they pursue as “moral” or “ethical,” *i. e.*, as being intrinsically good and right rather than bad and wrong, and still others to which they aspire as being noble and worthy, “ideals.” There are the pleasures of life: first, food, raiment, and shelter, which more than satisfy needs, and these man calls comforts and luxuries; second, lines, colors, forms, and sounds which delight his senses, and these he calls beautiful; and last, stimulating exercises of mind and body which exhilarate more than they fatigue, and these he calls play or sport. Likewise, there are positions and achievements which give him satisfying prestige among his fellows. Finally, he finds certain services worthy in the sight of his God, the performance of which he believes will bring a state of immortal peace and happiness in a life beyond the grave.

Many factors operate to establish these values in the special forms which they take in any single culture. Like all else in human life they are rooted in man’s original nature, but like the social institutions they are formed in the matrix of society. To secure food, one must be “industrious”; to attain prestige, one must have “courage” and “wisdom”; and to win love, one must have “grace” and “gentility.” The first needs of life result in the creation of qualities of action which men find serviceable, and therefore good. As a member of the group an individual must conform to its practices and standards. Tradition and custom provide for each new generation a ready-made code of morals and a standard of values, which the individual is expected to serve. In truth, he usually conforms to them without questioning their existence or appraising their worth.

There are, however, those rare personalities who, through their own experience and reflection, test the values set for them by their heritage. The poets, the artists, the philosophers, and the prophets of the centuries have been greater teachers than the priests and the schoolmasters. The former have comprehended life, measured its content, and dreamed its renovation. They have clarified old codes and set up new values. To them have been

Types of
Social
Values

“Rights”

“Duties”

“Morals”

“Ideals”

“Pleas-
ures”

“Pres-
tige”

“Superna-
tural
Reward”

The
Making
of Stand-
ards of
Values:
in Satis-
fying
ing
Needs

By the
Growth
of Tradi-
tions and
Customs;

By Think-
ers

given the opportunities of setting before the lesser-minded but much-living multitude the meaning and aims of life. To be sure, their dreams have not always been realized, for man's achievements, either in wickedness or in saintliness, are limited by his capacities. At any rate, it is by such individualized thinking over and through the whole of life that new values are interpreted. Just as there are always those who proclaim the beauty of the sunset sky, so are there always those who see in it the promise of a brighter dawn. The entity of life, however, provides the data of the new thinking, and general social and cultural evolution works to reshape the current standards.

By Deter-
minism or
by Free-
dom of
Choice

In recent centuries there have been many writers who have declared that all phases of life, including the intangible things which men call good and desirable, are "determined," *i. e.*, established for man, by forces and circumstances beyond his control. The possibility of human choice affecting human living has been denied. The first "evolutionists" interpreted all codes and values in relation to their contribution to the survival of the individual and the group. It is plain that survival value is not the only factor establishing the worth of actions. Men do commit suicide, denying the very worth of life itself. "Economic determinists" insist that the technical equipment of a people for the production of goods establishes their whole social organization, including as a matter of course their morals and ideals. It is no doubt true that economic organization does exert a powerful influence over the social values: agriculture involves considerable foresight, trading requires initiative and freedom of action, credit necessitates faith in others, and the division of labor compels a recognition of mutual services. The economic determinists have asserted that private property involves the ideal of female chastity and the acceptance of a code of conduct by the poor different from that for the rich—obedience, frugality, and labor for those who own little; pride, power, and honor for those who possess much. In all societies there have been class standards and the present is no exception, but since the acquisitive instinct is not the single motive to human action, it cannot be true that economic factors shape the full form of life. "Geographic determinists" have found man's morals and ideals to be the product of the physical environment. Among the natives of the Isle of Man it was a crime to steal a goose but not to steal a horse, because a thief could escape with the former but not with the latter. In mountain regions where life is precarious brigands often make thieving a virtue. From such evidence the geographic determinists conclude that respect for property rights is due solely to environmental conditions. The difficulty with this conclusion is that there are islanders among whom it is a crime to

steal a horse, and there are mountaineers among whom, as well as among thieves, there is honor. And last of all are the "biological determinists," who find all life, individual and social alike, to be determined by heredity. "Blood tells," is their maxim, and blood does tell, but not the whole story. Men live in relation to their environments, physical and social, and their final personalities and social organization are shaped and reshaped in the shifting adjustment which is established to these stimulating factors. All determinists are enthusiasts, and they pursue an easy explanation.

Man's mind loves simple argument, and it is a rule of science that the simple explanation is to be preferred to the complex; such, however, cannot always be the case in human affairs. Man himself is a factor in his life; how much a factor, it is difficult to discover. "Right actions are those which conduce to social welfare. The social instincts guide the lower animals to this end. In man the social instincts are replaced by free voluntary action, guided, but no longer infallibly guided, by social customs and moral laws, enforced by legal, social, or divine sanctions."¹ "Through the course of recorded history, the free will of the human mind, the whim, the arbitrary resolve or refusal, are seen to play their parts. The records may be superficial, or may speak with profound truth. The heroes of history are fettered by necessity, and yet are free." "And whencesoever sprang the human mind, and howsoever it has developed till it has become the genius that it is in gifted individuals—howsoever this may have come to pass, the human mind, and not any physical environment or conditions, is the well-spring of human progress."² Determinists, although they realize that there are restrictions upon man's freedom of action, fail to understand that within limits man is a free agent. The conscientious objectors of wartime, who preferred to suffer the condemnation by their belligerent countrymen rather than to perform military service, certainly made a choice between the hard and the easy thing to do. The rôles of advancing knowledge and religion in shaping values have been too prominent to permit agreement with determinism of any sort. With the rise of science there has been built up a new set of values including health, comfort, and efficiency. Biology and psychology are coming more and more to affect prevailing notions of morals and charity. Religion, in spite of the fact that it has usually provided a ready sanction for customary standards, has been perhaps quite as important in declaring new values as any other force; Certainly Christianity exerted an unmeasured influence in renovating the codes of the ancient world. No great evolutionary ad-

By the
Growth of
Knowl-
edge

By Reli-
gious Ex-
perience

¹ G. W. T. Patrick, *Introduction to Philosophy*, p. 408.

² H. O. Taylor, *The Freedom of the Mind in History*, p. 23; p. 287.

justment, nor economic departure, nor geographic disturbance accompanied the advent of ethical religion. There are those who account for Christianity by divine revelation, a sort of "theological determinism" as it were, but more properly Christianity represents the ethical interpretation of life—life no longer restricted to local areas but first visioned as the universal association of all peoples.

In the
General
Social
Life

Man, with few facts and limited contacts, has a narrow range for his reflections, but as knowledge and associations increase the range is continually extended. Social values are forged in the heat of human living, where the day-by-day contacts and ordinary activities give them their final shape. It is in these contacts and activities that life itself is, that energies are poured out, and that satisfactions are realized. By the general testing of life, its content is measured and its worth established. Those things which men have come to call good have in general been those which by all ages have been found to serve rather than to injure life.

The
Contribu-
tion of
Primitive
Life
to the
Develop-
ment of
Social
Values

When man began the long ascent to present civilization life was hard and its manner simple. Food, labor, rest, the thrill of the hunt or war, the passion of sex, and the pride in children were its essential interests. Man, however, being a gregarious animal, found it necessary to maintain certain relations with other members of his own group and certain relations of his group to other groups. In the primitive horde and the higher associations of clan and tribe there appeared those essential virtues and ideals necessary for social life. "Do not kill except in self-defense; do not commit adultery; do not steal; do not get intoxicated; do not lie; do not be avaricious; be generous and kind"—thus ran the commandments of the Natchez Indians. In them may be seen those ideals of group loyalty, honor, honesty, sobriety, temperance, and generosity, which made it possible for life to exist on levels other than that of a jungle fight. In savage society, however, it was not possible to wrong one who endangered the group or its customs. Such a person was beyond all sentiment, so death was his punishment. Indeed, the basis of all ethical development existed in this primitive situation which worked for the preservation of the individual only by preserving the group and its laws. The great crimes were violations of clan and tribal tabus, customs, and traditions, or attacks upon group members. The rule of justice was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," blood revenge. This principle was the dominant concept in the first known code of laws, that of King Hammurapi of Babylonia. Among the Teutons who invaded the Roman Empire, this rule had been superseded by one which allowed cash payments for injuries done by the guilty persons to the injured one or his family. The early kinship groups, especially the patriarchal family, engendered the altruistic

The
Virtues
Necessary
for Social
Life

sentiment, that regard for the rights and well-being of others which is exhibited by loyalty, sacrifice, charity, and sympathy for the weak and the oppressed. At the same time obedience to and faith in authority were inculcated. When a man found himself among strangers the guest-right lessened his dangers. This right to hospitality was almost universal in early society. Primitive peoples in their decorations of the body, utensils, and abodes (as in the caves of the Crô-Magnons), began the expression of the human appreciation of the beautiful. Skill in the chase, or in war, or in appeasing the supernatural, were the chief bestowers of prestige. Manual labor, except as craftsmanship furnished weapons and adornments, was despised by men. "The lasting contribution of primitive life to the modern standard of values has been the virtues which make any social life possible. Family affection, respect for seniors, loyalty, bravery, leading to normal compulsion of accepting any challenge to fight or gamble, truth or troth, these virtues are embodied in whatever early codes there be, as men approach civilization."³ Since early times one line of moral development has been the continuous expansion of the group in which these virtues are to be practiced. Not new virtues, but new men to accept the virtues, has been the course of this evolution. As a result, these virtues have been separated from group codes to become attached to the individual in his relation to all other men. The virtues of the clan and tribe thus have become the basis of national and world society. All primitive values, however, were aspects of group life. The individual did not exist except by reason of his rights and duties as its member. Individuality had no worth of its own.

The contributions of the ancient civilizations to modern ideals and standards rest upon the heritage of the necessary social virtues from primitive life. The outstanding characteristic of all ancient societies was class organization: they were aristocratic. Some men were considered to be of greater worth than all other men, at first because of their services to the group; but after a while this superiority was obtained merely by the accident of being born into the ruling class. Human life itself had little value. Philanthropic and charitable acts were infrequent, and masses of the population were allowed to live and die in misery, servility, and ignorance. Their energies were poured out in ministering to the desires of their social masters. Physical labor was generally looked upon with contempt, and the slave was hardly regarded as a human being. In spite of this lack of altruism, the ancient civilizations evolved numerous ideals which have united to enrich all later life.

The Origin of Altruism

Relation of Primitive Virtues to Modern Social Organization

The Enrichment of Life in Ancient Times

Aristocracy, the Chief Characteristic of Ancient Society

³ E. W. Hopkins, *The Origin and Evolution of Religion*, p. 253.

**Egyptian
Social
Values**

The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* set up the ideals of fair play, commercial honesty, and the avoidance of violence in religious observance as desirable attributes of personal behavior. "I have not injured mankind; I have not carried off milk from the mouth of a babe; I have not caused misery; nor have I caused poverty"—thus run some of its iterations. In Egyptian daily life cleanliness and personal property rights were highly valued. Hospitality was extended to strangers, but there was little sense of duty to others. Justice according to their laws they held to firmly, and the ruling classes claimed consideration for their good deeds in the next world. The general rule of life seems to have been one of quiet, the overlooking of trifles, and the calm performance of the necessary economic and religious acts of their society.

**The
Hebrew
Ideal of
Righteous-
ness**

The Hebrews brought a clan and tribal morality into the land of Canaan. The virtues and duties of the patriarchal family were the measure of their ideals, but out of the vicissitudes of conquest and defeat they engendered the ideal of "righteousness" and a "moral order" on earth. The righteous man was neither unjust, cruel, nor extortionate. Above all, he was in right relation to God, Jahweh. By personal sins of disobedience, by violation of the tribal code, and by the practices of luxuries and vices, suffering was brought not only to the sinner but to the whole nation as well. In this general social responsibility to God for the life of the individual developed the larger concept of a good life for the entire group. That the rewards of righteousness were to be largely in material things of this world, in no way lessens the value of the ideal. Justice, love, and peace among men are values to which the consequent rewards are incidental. Their chief rewards are their intrinsic qualities.

**The
Greek
Ideals of
Versatili-
ty, Mod-
eration,
and
Justice**

The Greeks drew the content of their civilization from their forerunners in Mycenæ, Crete, and Egypt. Homer's poems depict men and women enjoying the thrills of war, adventure in strange lands, suffering the evil effects of faithless love, and the greater curses sent by irresponsible gods. The grandeur of the poems indicates the value which their hearers placed upon such immaterial things. The outstanding characteristic of the ancient Greek, especially the Athenian, was "versatility." Self-reliance in limb and brain, freedom, and many-sided attainments were personal ends to be achieved, not however in service to individual desires but to group enterprises. In Sparta, the citizen had no family life, nor wealth; he was a member of a military clique, and spent his time in performing the exercises and practicing the virtues incident to warfare. In Athens, the citizen served the city, and military virtues were conceived to be the accoutrements

of his freedom. His wealth went to his city's wars and into its temples, his time to its assemblies and its enterprises, and he lived in its streets. The art of Athens graced the daily life of the citizen class, to which its beauty was a bond of unity and a symbol of social coöperation and aspiration. Never, before or since, has art played so great a rôle in a society. In their common life the Greeks learned the virtue of moderation in all things, for temperance, measure, order, form, harmony, and beauty were not only the qualities of Greek art, but also the ideals of Greek life. Socrates could find justice to be a tempered and moderate rule, and Plato could dream an ideal commonwealth. That man could vision a perfect society marked new intensities of values. But Greek life was not without blemish. The number of their slaves and their attitude toward woman attest their lack of perfection. The weak were left to their misery, manual labor was little esteemed, and in the later period riches were prized excessively. Greek philosophy, nevertheless, was the first attempt to find for life the rule of perfection. What was the highest good? "Wisdom." But what was wisdom? The Sceptic answered that the wise man is he who suspends judgment until certainty is possible. The Epicureans declared the wise man to be the one who chooses the truest and most enduring pleasure. The Stoics, on the contrary, found the essence of wisdom in moderation, and in the overcoming of emotion, passion, pain, and pride. The Cynic—Diogenes asking the Macedonian king to get out of his sunlight—valued independence and freedom. Greek civilization discovered the individual human being; not that it recognized women, laborers, or slaves, but it caught the vision of individual life as a personal attainment by the practice and realization of virtues. Athletics, poetics, oratory, public service, military exploits, intellectual intercourse, and religious observation of pleasure-giving rites—the true, the good, and the beautiful—united to produce the type "classic" which the ages since have accepted as an ideal.

Wisdom
as the
Chief
Good in
Life

Rome added little to the contributions of the Greeks. The poor suffered in greater misery, while the powerful and rich were killed by luxuries and vices. Cicero, the kindest of the Romans, could ask, "What is the good of being kind to a poor man?" And Cato said that it was best to let a sick slave die, for he was not worth the trouble and cost of his treatment. The Roman aristocrat balanced this contempt and even cruelty with the class virtues of personal dignity, courtesy, and modesty. Riches and military grandeur were the measure of success. Obedience to law was a prime virtue. In the vast empire erected by the Romans, religions and opinions not dangerous to the structure of the state were tolerated. Unity for men under law and orderly government

Roman
Ideals of
Unity and
Order

became by Roman conquest a fact for the ancient world; and the Imperial City remains as a symbol of orderliness in human association, now dreamed but unattained. Its master, Julius Cæsar, showed the blights of power, pride, and cruelty. Not in might alone could order be secured. The ideals of might and force have been tried again and again, always to fail in misery, dissension, and more force. The arm of law was strong but the eyes of justice were covered—to avoid prejudice, it is true, but to deny knowledge as well. Greek wisdom and Christian love were needed to soften Roman force before the Hebrew moral order of righteousness could be attempted in lives of men.

The
Revolu-
tionary
Rôle of
Christian-
ity in
Modifying
the
Ancient
Aristoc-
racy and
Egotism

Into the welter of conflicting peoples, codes, and philosophies, united outwardly by Roman might, came the message of Christianity. The ancients had lived for their class, their city, or their tribe. Power, prestige, and wealth were the prizes for the aristocrats; misery and oblivion the lot of the poor; slavery or death the fate of the stranger. Christianity broke these exclusive bonds, and called upon all men to live for all men. Altruism now became universal in its application. All men were brothers under one fatherly God. Self-sacrifice for the most lowly of mankind was the supreme virtue. "Love thy neighbor as thyself," was the new commandment. Service and charity were the new virtues. Wealth and prestige ceased to be the goals of personal endeavor, for men rose above both riches and poverty. Pride itself became a sin. Humility, meekness, and contentment were prized, and men were dignified with the worth of an eternal salvation which was the essential reward for self-denial and service in ministering to the life of all men in this world. Love, rather than wisdom or righteousness, was to be the instrument of social regeneration, and the latter was to be achieved, not by reform, but by individual conversion to the new practice of altruism. Christianity discovered the worth of all individuals. The common man moved out of the darkness of pagan disregard into the radiance of personal dignity. The women whom the ancients had respected only as the mothers of citizens of the state, although not freed from the yoke of male domination, were promised a release from male caprice, and were set the virtues of modesty, piety, and purity of heart. Children were commanded to remember the old virtues of honor and obedience to parents. Slaves were not freed, but their masters were exhorted to treat them as brothers. Christianity did not set itself directly the task of social reform, but it sought individual salvation and the amelioration of distresses by love and mutual service.

The Ex-
tension of
Altruistic
Virtues
to All
Men

Self-
denial,
the Su-
preme
Virtue

In Christianity's conquest of the ancient world the altruistic virtues entered into the older codes to lessen the severity of life,

but men were not ripe for moral perfection. Original nature was not so easily turned to the rôle of self-denial, for the old calls of glory, luxury, and power still sounded sweet in the ears of men; therefore, although individuality came to have the meaning of service to man and to God rather than to self, the brotherhood of man was not realized. To the multitudes of the empire the Christian virtues and ideals were a promise of better things than bondage and misery, and in the short course of three centuries the new code became the accepted rule of life. But its followers were weak men rather than saints. Soon they were committing the social sins of intolerance and persecution of their opponents. Christianity set men a new level of values, but men did not reach the height. Primitive and pagan values survived to lure men from the ways of salvation; but perfection in love, charity, and faith had been placed before them as a goal and a guide-star of life.

Of that long thousand years which followed the wrecking of Imperial Rome, during which the barbarians settled her territories and absorbed her culture, it has been written that there was every vice but vulgarity and every virtue but moderation. The barbarians brought their tribal codes of bravery, troth, might, and patriotism. They encountered the ruins of aristocratic grandeur and the moral aspirations of Christianity. From these three elements they blended a code for themselves. Sir Galahad, the knight of the Holy Grail, represents the ideal which, among the worldly individuals of actual knighthood, was never realized:

"My strength is as the strength of ten
Because my heart is pure."

Bravery and self-denial united in him to exhibit the perfect flower of feudalism and Christian monasticism, the dominating institutions of the time. Poverty, obedience, and chastity were monastic virtues; bravery, military skill, and grace in love were esteemed by knights. The ascetic denial of life existed beside the chivalric acceptance of its demands for excitement, pomp, and passion. The two orders—priests and princes—ruled over and lived by the masses, who on their part were expected to marry, beget children, fight and barter, and fend for themselves. Well for them indeed if they could live in communion with the Church and die repentant and absolved, eligible for purgatory.⁴ There, the sins of pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust, so Dante wrote, were punished, and the soul prepared to enjoy the reward for its earthly faith, in paradise. In paradise, "beatitude," a blessed state of eternal knowledge and divine love, awaited the

The
Mingling
of Prim-
itive, Pa-
gan, and
Christian
Codes
at the
End of
Ancient
Times

The
Ideals
of the
Middle
Ages

The Mo-
nastic and
Knighly
Virtues

"Beati-
tude"

⁴ Taylor, H. O. *The Medieval Mind*, 3rd, ed. Vol. II, p. 559 ff.

The
Other
World
Ideal

soul's perfection. So, at least, Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the medieval thinkers, described the reward which the other world offered. The chief intellectual interest of the age was to discover the rules of conduct proper for the winning of the kingdom of heaven. A humility toward, a distrust of, and a dependence on supernatural power, together with a submissiveness to earthly authority and a conviction of the meanness of earthly life, pervaded the spirit of the times. Man was born in sin, the stain of which only God in his mercy through the Church could blot out. Thus the Church as a divinely established guide to salvation, in its rise to power and its consequent domination, exercised a great force for individual and social well-doing. Slavery slowly died out, abandoned children were cared for, the poor were received with alms, and manual labor became dignified and worthy. St. Francis of Assisi made poverty and Christian love realities in the virtuous pursuit of justice and salvation; while mere money-making, especially by buying and selling for a profit and taking interest, was condemned. But Thomas Aquinas, who set men the heavenly ideal of "beatitude," could see man as he was, even to the point of justifying slavery as the fruit of sin. Men were not to be perfect in this world, but were here charged with the obligation of preparing for future blessedness by faith in and submission to the Church. Men lived for the rewards of the other world, but human nature exhibited its weaknesses—frivolity, gluttony, avarice, lust, and pride remained. Merchants could wet groceries to make them weigh heavier, princes could deform men for their amusement, and torture and death could be wreaked upon a people as well as upon a man for beliefs contrary to authority. The humility and charity which were attributes of the Christian life were not for the Church: for it, there were wealth, pride, and power. The Middle Ages were raw with unrefinements, comfort was unknown, cruelty common, injustice ordinary. And chivalry itself was hardly a perfect code of love and honor, for was not Guinevere guilty in the love of Lancelot, the trusted knight of her husband, King Arthur? The lovers could violate the sacred pledges of marriage and of friendship, and thus commit the sin which Dante visioned as being punished in fiercest hell.

The Unre-
finements
of the
Middle
Ages

The Two
Views of
Medieval
Culture

A school of moderns hold up these centuries as models of society and culture, seeing in them the blend of art, religion, thinking, labor, and morality which is the best possible for men. They see the economic security of the land-bound serf, the moral simplicity of laity and priests in adoration of Christ and his virgin mother, the exuberant thrill of knightly service to causes of Christian justice, and the splendid pomp of Christ's Vicar on earth. For others the same centuries are the "Dark Ages," stagnant with

misery and ignorance. They see the squalor of earthen huts and unclean castles, the blight of superstition, and the universal denial of man's individuality in bonds of serfdom to lords and in the worse bonds of faithful ignorance to priests. The truth, without doubt, is somewhere between these extremes. In the architecture of the Gothic cathedrals there were daring vision and technical mastery exceeding those in newer structures. In the handiwork of carving, molding, and weaving there were refinements and skill now long forgotten. In the ascetic ideals of monastic life there were austerities long since given up. In the universal dominion of the Church there were a cosmopolitanism and a community of interests which later centuries have given over for a narrower fellowship under national ideals. But the people of the Middle Ages were of flesh and blood, of cravings, appetites, and vices which neither authority nor moral teachings could suppress. Since man is man in all ages, these ten centuries in which he sought immortality by service to Christian ideals, were filled with hardship, chronic war, degrading superstition, and stupefying ignorance. Individuality was locked up in a class system, and morals served class interests. The churlish peasant who danced on the green and bowed his head at the evening bell was degraded by the knight—the chivalric servant of some fair noble lady—in the practice by which the peasant's bride belonged to the lord on her wedding night. Even for the Middle Ages it is best to see life whole.

The
Worldly
Achievements
of the Middle
Ages

The age sought to curb men's restless energies by faith in a supernatural Being's power and intent to save men from eternal punishment for earthly sins. The trial failed, but culture was enriched by virtue of the attempt. The limits of man's power to regulate his original nature by belief and will were found in the virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Labor in a common purpose, enthusiasm in spiritual exercises, and faith in an eternal justice were established as ideals of lasting value.

The
Failure
of the
Other
World
Ideal

Such a long age, however, was not a single-minded service to the feudal and monastic ideals. Small voices often disturbed the general choice of devotion and faith. In the fourteenth century when Thomas à Kempis could gather the piety and mystic serenity of life in the presence of the Divinity into the *Imitation of Christ*, and Froissart could see life as the genteel play of knights and ladies, it is not to be considered remarkable that some men might turn to other elements of life. Indeed, Boccaccio with his denial of the miseries of the plague-stricken earth in the bliss of sense and love balanced à Kempis; and Langland in *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman*, by voicing the bitter cry of serfs against poverty and feudal injustice, balanced Froissart. Soon the modern note was

The
Formation
of the
Modern
Standard
of Values

struck in its full rotundity, for Rabelais commanded, "Be yourself the expounder of your undertaking." This world in all its misery and beauty, together with man in his humors and passions, returned to be the content of a new evaluation of life.

**Worldly
Individ-
ualism**

**The
Social
Basis
of the
Modern
Standard
of Values,
the Bour-
geoisie**

**Middle
Class
Ideals**

**Money-
Making**

**The
Prudent
Life**

**Reason
as the
Guide
of Life**

Education

**Political
Liberty**

**The New
Brother-
hood of
Man**

Like every standard of values, the new worldly individualism had a social basis in the rise of a class within the old society, the class historically known as "the bourgeoisie," which owed its position to the accumulation of wealth. As a result money-getting became the center of the new code, and old values were modified to allow the new ideal to be realized. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries witnessed the conflict of the old and new. The Puritan came with his austerity, prudence, frugality, temperance, simplicity, and early-rising to typify the middle class ideals. At the same time he could enslave the negro and raid his white brothers for worldly gain. The individual was liberated to secure his own ends. At first the ends of life were said to be wealth, and then wealth as a means to power. No sooner, therefore, did the middle class win its economic position than it demanded political recognition. Already the Protestant Revolt had set up the individual as the interpreter of the divine will, and soon he was to become his own ruler. Shakespeare's characters who work out their lives without the aid of church or state exhibit the new men of the new earth. The new men made much of their rights—rights not as members of a political, economic, or religious association but as men. Reason—the individual mind working with the stuff of life—was set up to rival the authority of the Church as the guide to knowledge and salvation. Knowledge of the earth and man came to be considered of worth, and instead of inquiring again into the ways of God with man, the new times allowed the old knowledge of these matters to stand and undertook to discover the ways of the earth with man and of man with himself. It was this new spirit which created science. Furthermore, man claimed the privilege of acquiring knowledge and of forming opinions for himself, and thus, as a means to these ends, education received a stimulating emphasis. In the pursuit of knowledge and wealth, with the simple virtues of industry, thrift, and temperance, man lost interest in beauty. Art either retired to galleries to interest peculiar people or else served to minister to the vain show of wealth. By reason, knowledge, and education the medieval virtues of faith and contemplation were overthrown; by the new political rights age-old loyalty and obedience to feudal lords were destroyed. The right to vote, freedom of speech and assembly, equality before the law, equality of taxation, and representation in government were the vestments of political liberty. Synthesized in the motto of the French Revolution "Liberty, Equality, and

Fraternity," they gave new meaning to the brotherhood of man: not brothers in service and devotion to an ascetic ideal, but brothers in the life of this earth, as real men of flesh and blood might lead it when individual interests, fair play, and mutual respect should unite them. To complete the release of men from the rack of privilege and the denial of life in service to another world's reward, the worldly-minded men who practiced individualism brought forward the idea which was to become the cardinal principle of the new faith,—that of "progress" on this earth, secured by human agency. Modern times have had a naïve faith that the world is growing better. If the meaning is sought, "better" too often is discovered to be material prosperity, and yet there accompanied this faith in "progress" a humanitarian impulse which finally abolished slavery, swept cruelty from daily life, modified the terrors of criminal punishment, and decreased ignorance and poverty. Thomas Aquinas made perfection the sublime end in the other world, but modern thinkers have visioned it as the destiny of free-living men in a social order where peace, prosperity, and knowledge will be united in a daily life of service and aspiration.

Humanitarianism

Progress

With these interests and aspirations as guides to conduct, modern men entered the nineteenth century. The hardships of the Napoleonic wars threw them back upon the older religious values. Political economists such as Malthus, Ricardo, and Marx, who asserted the inevitability of poverty and degradation for the masses, relieved men from the recognitions of their social responsibilities. Bourgeois prudence united with these forces to create that thick-minded view of life, well rounded with prudery and homely virtues, known as "Mid-Victorian." But new music was in the air. Byron and Shelley could sing of freedom, and Goethe could express the truth that the ages had taught but the few had learned, "Only through all men can mankind be made." Early modern individualism, like chivalry, was a class code. Common men were still denied their rights in government and went unprovided for in education. Above all, they had lost their feudal security in the use of land to become automata, mere working-parts in the inexorable economic machinery which ground out misery for them and riches for the few. The old virtues of obedience, industry, thrift, and submission were preached to them with earnest vigor.

Recent Modifications in the Modern Standard of Values

Middle Class Ideals during the Nineteenth Century

But individualism could deny no man his due and remain individualism. The logical and the honest endeavored to find a way to liberate the automaton. In the degradation of the masses by the greatest wealth-producing system ever devised, the social ideals of the present were generated. Robert Owen, the cotton manufacturer, turned his genius to reorganizing industry and society. Utopian schemes—rising partly from the concept of progress, partly

The
Social
Basis of
Recent
Modifica-
tions
in the
Standard
of Values,
the Lower
Classes

Lower
Class
Ideals

Economic
Security

Equal Op-
portunity

Peace

A Higher
Standard
of Liv-
ing

The
Ideal of
Self-
Realiza-
tion

from the effects of machinery, but more from a new faith in the inherent goodness of man—appeared in great numbers. English Chartist agitators demanded political rights for all men, and Louis Blanc led the French workers to the overthrow of the bourgeois monarchy of 1830. The liberties already won by the middle class were claimed by the masses, and to them were added the demand for security. The abolition of economic inequalities, especially since they deny the equality of opportunity, became a vital ideal. In the present world poverty is abhorred, and charity itself, if it tends only to relieve rather than to remove distress, is looked upon with disfavor. Intemperance is condemned as being destructive of man's best self. The triumphant nationalism of these same decades emphasized the patriotic virtues, and a misinterpretation of the evolutionary idea, "survival of the fittest," justified war. The peace movement, however, ran parallel to these militant developments. At present, war, although the loyalty, the bravery, and the sacrifices of soldiers are highly prized, is called "murder," and is sought out for special outlawry. Security, equal opportunity, and peace were nineteenth century additions to the earlier demands of the individual for rights and power. Furthermore, rights and power were claimed to exist only as means to serve ends desirable to mankind. The late nineteenth century socialized individualism.

At the same time new knowledge, greater wealth, and advancing ideals brought other additions to the content of life. Comfort is a new ideal. Health, as a general attribute of life, is still more recent. Cleanliness is a necessary companion of both. Refinements in dress, food, and manners seeped down from the rich and privileged to become realities for the middle class and aspirations for the masses. Daily life changed its standards. Play, being natural to man, became desirable. Sports, games, and exercises now amuse millions, but benefit only the few, those who are playing. For the many, entertainment is more pleasing than effort, especially since for modern men labor is a consuming passion. No earlier age knew such a thing as a "working day," or even an "eight hour day"; men of those times worked leisurely, lazily, and broke the routine with many holidays. Only in modern times have men become "hard workers." Individualism, by increasing responsibility, forced men to a greater exertion of their energies.

A general revaluation of individual life has been the result of these diverse changes in standards. The Middle Ages sought salvation, early modern times desired wealth and power, recent times have demanded the full and abundant life not for the one but for the many. The utilitarian ethics of the early nineteenth century expressed the ideal, "the greatest good of the greatest number," and now self-realization is declared to be the greatest good. But re-

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cent thinkers have endeavored to evaluate individual life in terms of social factors. Tolstoi taught simplicity, austerity, and self-denial—old virtues for new men; Nietzsche called for men to rise above petty interest and puny distress to be supermen—a new race for the old earth; but Whitman wrote,

“Of life immense in passion, pulse and power,
Cheerful, for freest action found under laws divine,
The modern man I sing.”

He completed the socialized view of triumphant personality in the words,

“I see reminiscent to-day those Greek and Germanic systems,
See philosophies all, Christian churches and tenets see;
Yet underneath Socrates plainly see, and underneath Christ the divine I
see,
The dear love of man for his comrade, the attraction of friend to friend,
Of well married husband and wife, of children and parent,
Of city for city and land for land.”

Although the old calls for man to deny life or to surpass life still resound, there is the wiser command to recognize the unity of self and society, and to temper individual interest by social responsibility. That the latter shall be the rule of self-discipline is the knowledge which now is wisdom, and the modern world believes that, by bringing knowledge to the service of Christian love, the technique of the “kingdom of heaven” may be worked out. Modern men unite individual interest and social responsibility in devising actual means for realizing the highest ideals that the ages have been able to conceive. The rule of the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, “As thou art thyself a component part of a social order, so let every act of thine be a component part of social life,” returns to guide men in the use of the knowledge of life which they have secured. By scientific knowledge, the modern world hopes to devise the ways and means of expressing individual energies and altruistic feelings—not in the denial of the former, but in their release in the service of the latter. Whereas the Middle Ages united Greek wisdom and Christian love in the vain effort to curb man’s baser self, the modern world hopes, by scientific knowledge and Christian love, to release that self in the realization of man’s better self. Self-realization through social action is the highest ideal of the present.

**The
Ideal of
Social
Responsi-
bility**

America claims with western civilization the heritage of the past. Just as each of the social institutions has been modified to new world life, so also have the social values been reshaped. Frontier life and the assimilation of elements from various European na-

**The
Ideals
and In-
terests of
American
Life**

tional cultures have been the chief factors in the formation of the American standard of values.

Liberty

America was founded by men and women who loved liberty, *i. e.*, liberty as opposed to the age-old restrictions of feudal and priestly rule. Worldly individualism, heavily charged with strictest puritanism, characterized New England life. The easier morals of feudal aristocracy permeated the South. In the course of the revolt from England, and the religious revival of the early nineteenth century, the New England ideals were considerably strengthened.

**Faith
in the
Common
Man**

It was not until after the first third of the nineteenth century that aristocratic ideals gave way to that abounding faith in the common man which is America's greatest contribution to world-life. Merit, effort, and integrity came to be expected of every individual. Lincoln, as the single American of the nineteenth century to have a world significance, stands more for this than for all other of his nation's ideals. To this faith in the common man were added the belief in equal opportunity, the toleration of creeds and opinions, and the regard for the rights of weaker peoples. The suppression of the negroes, the rise of anti-Catholicism, and the growth of imperialism make it appear at times that the assertion of these ideals is more a lip-service than a working acceptance. Self-

**Individ-
ualism**

reliance, ability, and judgment were necessary among the rough-and-ready people who followed the frontier across the continent. The frontier so ingrained individualism into the American character that the advanced ideal of individual social responsibility has been difficult to realize. If American individualism has remained too worldly, making the nation one of money-getters, it can be pleaded that Americans enjoy the process of money-making more than the money itself. The pouring out of wealth in service to the public is an ostentatious virtue. Some Americans, however, are crusaders rather than money-grubbers. Recognized moral evils suffer continuous attacks by reformers of varying degrees of conviction. The abolition of slavery and the prohibition amendments gained much support from such crusaders; there are always some Americans wanting to censor literature and the theatre in order to protect the youth from corruption, and to rout vice from the houses of iniquity. The American's difficulty, arising from individualism, in recognizing the solidarity of society, however, has hampered both the philanthropic and crusading spirits in accomplishing constructive ends. The greater vision of the socialized self is just dawning in the American consciousness.

**The Cru-
sading
Spirit**

These higher values in American life are the crown of a structure built of lesser desires and interests. In the daily life of the nation the age-old vices and virtues born of man's conflicting impulses and capricious choices appear, but even in these there are

characteristics which distinguish the American. No one is a typical American, but there are qualities which permeate the national life to such a degree that their recognition is not difficult. The American is an advance agent of prosperity, and good times are assuredly always coming. He talks much of service and efficiency, but their meaning when investigated remains uncertain or exhibits the means of making money. He prizes social conformity—in clothes, amusements, efforts, and ideas. He does not trust the one who fails to follow the crowd. "Getting by," "getting a kick out of something," and "keeping on the move," are sharp practices of daily life. He likes to travel, and enjoys being amused, more by others than by himself; with the consequent result that the movies and athletics prosper while art in all forms languishes. The latter, the American hardly understands. Its devotees are usually considered queer. Music probably receives the widest appreciation. When he entertains himself the index of his pleasure is how much money he spends in the effort. Display of high-priced possessions is a notorious vanity, and the quest of publicity is a national sin. Above all, the "dead beat," the one who fails to pay his bills, is abhorred. Education as a means to making money receives general sanction,—the "white-collared job" is a common aspiration and many sons are educated in order that they may escape the labor done by their fathers. Although the essential interests of American life center about the accumulation of wealth, it must be acknowledged that the joy of the quest is greater than pleasure of realization. The love of excitement permeates the nation. Everything from campaigns for church funds to presidential elections become sporting events. The "thrill" is the thing.

As one looks at the mixed content of contemporary civilization, striking contradictions appear. Meek militarists assail violent pacifists. Bohemians disgust puritans. The new woman shocks her grandparents. Youth defies age. Fundamentalists wrestle with modernists. Socialists make the capitalists shudder. And æsthetes find beauty in forbidden things. This clashing of interests and ideals exists in every age. The life of any period may be viewed as a conflict of values in which the old are tested by the new. Modern culture, embodying elements from many sources, offers many opportunities for such disturbances. "Modern morality like modern civilization shows the mingled strains of Hebrew, Greek, Roman, German or Celtic life. It contains also conceptions due to the peculiar industrial, scientific and political development of modern times. Thus we have today such inherited standards as that of 'honor of a gentleman' side by side with the modern class standard of business honesty, and the labor union ideal of class solidarity. We have the aristocratic ideal of chivalry and

Lesser Interests in American Life

Social Conformity

Money-Making

Thrill

The Conflict of Codes, Ideals and Values

Every Age Experiences such a Conflict

charity side by side with the more democratic standards of domestic and social justice. We find the Christian equal standard for the two sexes side by side with another which sets a high value on woman's chastity but a trivial value on man's. We find a certain ideal of self-sacrifice side by side with an ideal of 'success' as the only good."⁵ Modern man can serve himself not only with a richer culture than his early ancestor, but he can also worry himself with greater perplexities. He draws his life from the ages, but every situation involves its own unique response. Life remains always new and in each instance either by conformity, desire, or conscious choice, a determination of what is "good" must be made.

**Idealists
versus
Material-
ists**

**Absolu-
tists
versus
Relativ-
ists**

**Conserva-
tives
versus
Radicals**

**National-
ists
versus
Internat-
ionalists**

**Aristo-
crats
versus
Democrats**

**Puritans
versus
Pagans**

But what are the "good" and the "desirable"? The answers are a babble of yeas and nays. The idealists declare that all things of worth are immaterial in existence, of the mind, of the heart, and of the soul. The materialists, and they are much more numerous than the idealists, seek wealth, power, and prestige, the things of the here and the now, of the hand and the stomach. And with these two stand the "absolutists" and the "relativists": the former find absolute standards of right and wrong, and insist upon their realization with an unbending earnestness; the latter find all right and wrong to be matters of circumstance, for them the test of truth and virtue is their immediate availability to serve life. Loud within the babble is the conservative assertion that the old and the established are the good. The conservative shouts, "Beware!" to the many who would listen to his great antagonist, the radical, who finds wrong, outworn, and unjust whatever is old or established. The radical proclaims with vehemence against the established order and demands new departures. The conservative is too often uncritical; the radical is as often unsound. Then there are those who value local and selfish ideals—of whom the narrow-minded patriot is the worst; but the provincial is balanced by the cosmopolitan, who prizes the wider aspects of world-life. The internationalist who would melt all men into a common pottage counteracts the more dangerous nationalist. The clangor increases with the bickerings of the individualists and the collectivists; the former ask for freedom from restraint and assert their own desires first, while the latter emphasize social coöperation and think in terms of general welfare. Aristocrats come also, to raise their plea for the high culture for the few, while democrats demand self-expression for the many. The one aims at the special favor for the able, the other idealizes equal opportunity for all. Then in the confusion of life there are the austere and the self-denying—puritans—who exact prohibitions against vices and distractions, who see in the meadow of life, not a flowery field, but

⁵ J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics*, p. 142.

an uncultivated wilderness best made into a roadway toward future ends. They, however, have a balance weight in the pagans who catch the pleasure of the moment and free their energies and ambitions from rigid restraints. These love the meadows of life, sun on the hillsides, and even the rigor of storm. It is written that "man lives not by bread alone," also that he cannot serve "two masters," and in the paradox is the truth which these conflicting evaluations of life exhibit, namely that every man must keep at the testing of his choices. Primitive times produced the virtues which men prize in their daily face to face contacts; Greece discovered the individual life; Christianity gave it worth; modern times seek to make it rich. But the individual exists by society and the social environment as well as by the inborn traits which compel adjustment, and owing to these facts man is often torn between many loves, and as often knows not his greater one. In this way every age promotes a changing expression of man's original nature.

The social heritage in its content of values and ideals gives men problems as well as solutions. Life remains new. Religion, profession, occupation, class, and nation have their separate codes which often conflict. But men live by all of them. Compromise is a necessity. Beauty is where men find it. Justice depends upon what they choose as right. Honor is a gage to more than one situation in life. The "good" and the "desirable" are men's own creations. In the widest view of life man exhibits his nature in terms of the past to which his conformity is prescribed and from which his deviations are marked. There is a duty to the past in which men have lived and died, but it is not a duty of mere acceptance. As John Dewey writes, "Duty to the past is not for its own sake nor for the sake of the past, but for the present so secure and enriched that it will create a better future." In the entity of life the "good" of the past may serve the present, but to be "good" at all the present must serve the future. The aims, ideals, and values, or the impulses, desires, and appetites set men at the work of life; the drives of man's own energies give each of them their final worth. "Good" is not necessarily that which is chosen, but that which is chosen appears as "good" to the chooser. Men test life only by living it.

As one views in retrospect man's social evolution and cultural accumulation, it becomes apparent that man's vision of the ideal life has risen with the ages. Man has gained the whole earth but he has not lost his own soul. The primitive horde has become world society. Local cultures, enriched by and contributing to other local cultures, merge into a world culture. The prospect of racial amalgamation promises a return of man to a common type.

**The Con-
tinuous
Testing
of Values**

**The
Rising
Standards
of Value**

Social, cultural, and biological unity—through diversity in development—rest yonder in the far-distant future for those who have eyes to see.

In the
Widening
Experi-
ence of
Men

Men first were wanderers, risking life to keep life. Intelligence and courage were the requisites of success. Then came a settled life in rude agricultural villages. Foresight and security united with courage and intelligence to maintain stability. The village grew to the city. Contacts between men became more numerous, accumulated wealth made possible a leisure, cultural accumulations were augmented, knowledge grew, and experience was intensified. This quicker living provided the stimulation which brought the testing by the first prophets—Hebrew, Greek, Hindu, and Chinese—of the earlier barbaric codes. After a long time the ancient Mediterranean civilizations merged under Roman rule. As has already been suggested, it was the reaction to this new experience in a broader society which engendered ethical religion. The vision of humanity united in service to man and God was impossible until the vision of such an event could be drawn from experience by reflection. Long centuries brought the decomposition of ancient civilization and Roman rule. New peoples swept over the old centers of culture. When settled life returned, the vision of the ancient world—in Christianity—awaited. The Middle Ages accepted the vision as their ideal. But social evolution and cultural accumulation continued. Old cities awakened; new cities sprang up: social stimulation again was intensified. Man's reactions achieved another revaluation of experience and the modern standards were formed. Recent centuries have made experience more varied, have greatly increased knowledge, and have greatly intensified social stimulation. Transportation and communication have brought the world and its life to the individual. Education and the printed word instruct him in the experience of the past. Again experience rises to a higher tensity. The result is the unsettled life of the present. Old things are questioned, new things are asserted, for the heritage of the race in all its elements—institutions and standards—must serve the needs of present men. In that continuous adjustment between life and the environment which maintains life, older cultural achievements and prior adjustments must serve life or give way. In the ever-recurring expansion of knowledge and intensification of experience come the stimulations which inspire new visions. Man rises beyond his present by seeing the possibilities latent in it. Plato's perfect city was Athens idealized. The vision of Jesus was the sublimation of the unity of men first apparent in his own time. New Atlantis was the dream of science perfected. Bellamy found mechanical contrivance and national feeling the means to social salvation.

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Present internationalism finds its inspiration in experience and culture already becoming international. Man finds his visions in vistas pointed by elements in his experience. He rises above life by living it. The brook rises in the hills, becomes the great river in the plains, and finds rest in the moaning sea. Many springs pour their streams into the river of life, which carries nothing except all that the springs pour out. Nothing else? No, for the river rises to a flood, to roar and to devastate in its own turbulence. The power of the flood is its own. Evolving society and accumulating culture carry in themselves the forces of destruction and regeneration. "‘Cities rise and sink like bubbles on the waters,’ but somehow the dreams of men remain,"—remain to become, like the waters of the ocean, the raindrops of a new torrent. Men live by dreaming new dreams.

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Chap. 2, Early group life.

Chap. 3, Rationalizing and socializing agencies in early societies.

Chap. 4, Group-morality—customs or morals.

Chap. 5, From group morality to personal morality.

Chap. 6, The Hebrew moral development.

Chap. 7, The moral development of the Greeks.

Chap. 8, The modern period.

Chap. 10, The moral situation.

Chap. 12, Types of moral theory.

Baker-Crothers, Hudnut. Chap. 1, The nation's ideals.

Patrick. Chap. 22, The higher values of life—moral values.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN LIFE: INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS

"Since first I stood, I stood alone;
My inspiration is my own."

Thus the individual declares the independence of his experience and of his being. And among that multitude who move in every period this independence of experience and being is a very real and dear thing. For them "I," "mine," and "now" appear to be the totality of existence. They are in life, but not of life. Its strong current is short-circuited into their daily round of trials and pleasures whose content ministers more to their vanity than to their understanding. They do not sense the operation of the process whose forces shape their lives. For them "time" is something "to pass away." The individuality of being, which to the average person seems so real and true, obscures his view of the nature of life and, above all, his view of its development. To his mind the veil before the future is only a little darker than the one which shrouds the present and drapes the past. He does not permit his mind the vision which present knowledge—little as it is—makes possible.

The
Historical
Process

Time's long vista yields a view of the earth's transformation by the geologic agents, of life's development by biological evolution, and of man's ascent to present civilization by the operation of social and cultural forces. And a scrutiny of our time reveals that these developments continue. At any one time living things exist in and consist of their responses to the interplay of stimuli inherent in their environment; and society exists in and is a constituent part of the life of those human beings who are at any one instant alive. In them are preserved the biological inheritances of body and mind; through them the environmental factors play; by them the content of the social heritage is utilized and altered; they are the end-product of the series of generations which since the beginning has been achieving the now existing forms of behavior and social organization. In them, and in them alone, exists that entity of human life which preserves the past, experiences the present, and creates the future. In their lives, as organized in the ways which we call society, continues the operation of those

forces which have brought life from its earlier forms to its present condition, and which will carry it forward to still other forms. Their lives are the whole content of history. The forces which play through their lives are the makers of history, and the synthetic operation of these forces constitutes the "historical process."

The
Nature
of a
Process

A process may be defined as a working together of forces, each in its operation affecting the operation of the others in such a way as to bring as the resultant a continuous flow of becoming. More concretely, the earth turns in its orbit, the days warm, the sap runs, "the robins nest again," and "a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love"—it is spring. Spring is the result of a process—of the interplay of cosmic and biologic forces which awaken sleeping life to a new year's growth. But cold days and cold loves mark its progress with uncertainties. Processes are generally known by their results, but the latter are always new and different, because the forces which constitute the processes may vary from time to time in their relative strength. A cold spring delays growth, and a warm spring hastens it, unless perchance there is drought. If moisture accompanies the warmth there is a luxuriant growth. In a process, therefore, there are relations among the constituent forces which may be subject to alteration. At one time there may be an easy adjustment among them; at another, some one force may dominate the others. In general, there will be a constant shifting among the forces, the weak gaining strength and the strong losing power, or, on the contrary, the weak growing weaker and the strong developing an overwhelming power. If the forces of a process never cease to operate, there will be a continuous flow of results. If the relative strengths of its forces vary, the results will appear as a changing stream of conditions. If its forces lose their power, there will be a cessation of result—death. A process is the creative functioning of forces.

Since the forces of the historical process emerge from the elemental energies of the physical universe, from the stream of life, and from the cultural accumulation, and achieve a constant reshaping of human life, it may be looked upon, from man's point of view at least, as the greatest of processes. It brings that continuous series of unique and non-recurring events which men designate "history." By its operation, human life has passed from the condition of savagery to the status of present civilization. In the course of this development the varying strengths of the several forces of the historical process have shaped the conditions of life which are recognized as barbarism, and as ancient, medieval, and modern civilizations. The continuous operation of its forces carries humanity forward in the ever-living present.

Fundamental to the process of history, therefore, are those

original human energies and needs which drive men to action. All human life is an effort to express and satisfy them. Social change consists in finding new expressions and satisfactions. The content of history is the achieved expressions and satisfactions. Man's original nature is the essential motive power of social change. The living millions at any one instant represent another turn of the generations—the aged who are passing, the adults who are performing the work of life, and the young who are being reared to carry on the struggle. Since each newborn infant varies from its parents, this turning of the generations provides a new pattern of the inherited traits, and as a result, although the energies and needs remain the same, compels a different expression of life. The turn of the generations in itself makes inevitable a changing relation between men, their social heritage, and the physical environment. These fundamental energies are expressed through the forms within the social heritage. The great elements in every culture are the pattern-ideas by which human conduct is controlled. Native traits provide the raw materials of human action; the finished product is shaped by the social heritage. Since men by inventiveness and curiosity, or by neglect and lassitude, are continually altering their culture, the social heritage is also a dynamic factor affecting social organization. Finally, the inherited traits, as expressed through culture, must maintain life within the conditions imposed by physical nature. Since diastrophism, erosion, and climatic change never cease, the environment is unstable. Life, therefore, is forced ever to new adjustments. The three factors—the differing pattern of the inherited capacities for action, the shifting content of the social heritage, and the environmental modifications—operate to produce social change.

In that entity of life, wherein both individual and society are one, this interplay of biological, physical, and cultural forces functions to remake continually the life of the individual, of society, and of the entity. In this interplay the social heritage is the great variable. The survey of its accumulation reveals its ever-increasing content, and makes clear that the chief differences between men and societies, both in time and in place, are due to differences in culture. Except in their social heritage, modern men differ little from primitive men. Europeans are marked from the Asiatics more by their culture than by race; and certainly Americans are only Europeans living under a modified European civilization. Furthermore, culture is the great stabilizing force. Its vast and complex content prevents any person from giving an original bent to the expression of his energies. To deviate from the established ways of behavior is to be "eccentric" or "queer." Since cultural forms persist from year to year, they unite the gen-

**The
Dynamic
Forces
in the
Historical
Process**

**The New
Pattern
of the
Inherited
Drives in
Each Gen-
eration**

**The Mod-
ifications
in the
Physical
Environ-
ment**

**The
Shifting
Content
of the
Social
Heritage**

**The
Rôles
of the
Dynamic
Forces
in the
Historical
Process**

**Culture,
both a
Variable
and a
Stable
Factor**

Inborn
Drives and
Physical
Forces
Provide
the Orig-
inal
Power
of the
Process

erations in one continuous development. Unity among men, both in place and in time, is achieved by the common elements in their social heritages. Finally, the other forces of the historical process work out through culture. The man whose raw impulses burst into action is recognized as a brute. When environmental conditions drive men to distraction through need and fear they become like animals. Culture is the true manifestation of the uniquely human qualities. Once men lose it, they drop to the level of animals. The physical environment exists as stimuli to the organism; original nature determines the fundamental types of the reactions to the stimuli; culture is a body of established adjustments which shape the reactions into human conduct. The environment and inherited traits provide the original forces of the historical process; culture acts as an instrument for the release and control of these energies.

Since, however, each addition to a culture accelerates the accumulation of the whole, culture itself becomes a dynamic factor in the historical process. The richer the culture, the more opportunity there is for invention and discovery. The invention of the lens brought that of the microscope, the microscope made possible the discovery of disease germs, and this discovery revolutionized medical practices and ideas. Thus one cultural departure makes possible many more. The instincts of curiosity and inventiveness remain the same, but as culture accumulates they find more opportunities for expressing themselves. Culture is a prime factor in its own growth, and as such a factor is a great force for shaping human life. Of course, the physical environment may present situations which a culture cannot meet, with the result that it and life will be destroyed. In the same way a culture's control over the inborn traits may become so irksome that they will burst forth in their elemental expressions. Culture is a fabric which the powers of physical force and biological energy may rend and shred, and leave men stripped to their naked bestiality. Civilization is a "thin veneer" over the crudities of savagery and barbarism, and may disappear in any crisis which brings the full force of the other dynamic factors of the historical process into play.

The
Operation
of the
Historical
Process

These three factors—physical environment, original nature, and culture—both drive and make stable the historical process. The imperceptible changes in the physical environment, the persisting types of the inherited capacities, and the established bulk of the social heritage give stability; the actual modifications in the physical environment, the changing patterns of the inherited traits, and the shifting content of the social heritage give the motion. When the stability becomes too great, there are long periods with little change. Such were the ages of savagery. When motion becomes

violent, there are genuine social overturns. Such were the French and Russian Revolutions. In case stability becomes permanent, the effect would be either death or perfection—death, if no force remained to drive men onward; perfection, if no change were possible in the established order. In case motion were to become swift, it would undoubtedly be in the direction of degeneration. Relapses are quick, but achievements are slow. There are always those men who are preaching the sudden coming of the millenium, and if the motion of the historical process should veer social evolution in the direction of perfection, their prophecy would come true. As a matter of fact, the operation of the historical process is slow and painful, but the stability and motion unite to make the entity of life, as Professor Giddings has so well expressed it, a “moving equilibrium.” Life sometimes is in a doldrum, and sometimes in a vortex, but in general it is like the man who shudders in his sleep—in a restless tranquillity.

By the historical process the life of mankind, as now existing in all its diversity and complexity, has been developed. Within the general life of mankind American life is a portion of western civilization, and as such it shares with European life, wherever that may be, the content of the heritage. American institutions and social values are a part of that cultural accumulation which, beginning in the wild life of the later glacial ages when man won his manhood, turned with Egyptian culture into the stream which in its broadening current passed through Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, and western Europe into the present. Always, however, elements from other cultures intruded, so that western civilization, even in its American form, is a genuine product of all past human achievements. Those great departures from the traditional culture of primitive life—oriental mathematics, Greek speculative thinking, Christian ethics, world commerce, machinery, and science—give western civilization its distinguishing qualities. These, of course, have come to the New World by the way of western and northern Europe. American civilization came into existence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when a great burst of energy sent the Europeans over the earth. All European peoples have contributed elements, but the English were sufficiently powerful and numerous to press their stamp upon the new life. Their language, institutions, and ideals became its basic constituents.

American life, however, has had its own development, and many critics have attempted to describe its peculiar qualities. European observers have usually agreed upon nervous tensivity, hospitality, and lack of poise as being distinctively American traits. Inattentive, short-sighted, anxious, over-zealous, and shallow are

The Content of American Life

A Part of World Development

A Portion of Western Civilization

Basic Elements from English Culture

A Critical View of American Life

other uncomplimentary appellations of the New World life. This newness stirs the same observers to deprecate the lack of attachment to place and the slight appreciation of the past which are all too apparent in the pursuit of each moment's quick return. "Good but thin" is the faint praise that very nearly damns American life.

American
Individ-
ualism

The
Product
of the
Frontier

Its Har-
mony
with the
Great
Achieve-
ments
of the
Past

This critical view misses the fundamental quality in American life—a vibrant individualism. "I want what I want when I want it" is its most raucous slogan. At home in an environment rough and untamed for at least three centuries, the new life developed the virtues and vices of the frontier into national characteristics. That phase of American development known as the "westward movement" which began with the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth and continued through every decade until the very present—its great stages marked by the settling of the "backwoods" of the Atlantic seaboard, the piercing of the Appalachians, the settling of the Mississippi Valley, the migrations to Utah, Oregon, and California, the homesteading of the western plains, and the building of transcontinental railroads—has been the one factor in the new society different from those in the older centers of western civilization. The great cultural departures of modern times—worldly interest, secular education, religious toleration, machine industry, responsible government, social reforms, and science—have come into American life only as they have developed in western culture. Independent cultural departures have been far less significant in the making of all that is characteristically American, than has been the enforced adaptation of European culture to the conditions of frontier life. In Australia, where Englishmen found themselves under conditions similar to those in North America, the resulting life is quite like that of the latter area, the nearest like it among all that mark the world. A study of the development of American social institutions reveals the rôle of the "westward movement" in shaping the distinctive attributes of American civilization. By this movement "individualism" in all of its phases was intensified, and European culture was modified to serve it. Romantic love, a dominant capitalism, universal public education, diversity of religions, universal suffrage, wealth-getting, and "thrill" exhibit the individualistic emphasis in family, economic, educational, religious, political, and ethical elements of the new culture. But one must not idealize the frontier or the people who carried it across the continent. Its life was crude; comforts and refinements were lost; emotions and passions were stimulated; vulgarities and profanities became ubiquitous. The graces and good tastes of well-ordered life were worn away in the friction between needs and environment. Life was reduced to the

simpler terms of patience, courage, quick action, and assertive desires.

Supreme individualism, however, was conditioned by other qualities, themselves the product of the frontier, such as fair play, equality of opportunity, and personal responsibility. Herbert Hoover indicated the difference between pure selfishness and American individualism when he wrote, "Our individualism differs from all others because it embraces these great ideals: that while we build our society on the attainments of the individual, we shall safeguard to every individual an equal opportunity to take that position in the community to which his intelligence, character, ability and ambition entitle him; that we keep the social solution free from frozen strata of classes; that we shall stimulate efforts of each individual to achievement; that through an enlarging sense of responsibility we shall assist him to this attainment; while he in turn must stand up to the emery wheel of competition."¹ The great advances in social and cultural development have come only with some further recognition of individual worth or the release of individual energies. Greek civilization discovered the individual. Christianity asserted his ethical responsibility. The Renaissance declared his worth and ability. The Enlightenment defined his liberties. Political democracy accepted his judgment and integrity. Contemporary reform movements vision his release from dire need and unnecessary disabilities, and claim his recognition of his own social responsibility as the best motive to the improvement of life. American individualism stands in the line of this great tradition. With the passing of the frontier, which created the distinctively American ideals, there appears the problem of the future, namely, the realization of these ideals in constructive social action. The fruit of American individualism is yet to grow.

Not the swarm, and not the bee, but the bee within the swarm, is the ideal of American life—an ideal created by subjecting western culture to the conditions of life under which man first rose to culture. The result of testing western social evolution under the environmental conditions of primitive life has been to clarify the great fact of human development: that man and society are one, and that in the services of each to the other both are gainers. The swarm suppresses the bee, and the solitary wasp lives by terror; man compromises the suppression and the terror to win individual existence under social sanction. Society becomes more social, in order that the individual may be more individual. In American individualism there is the recognition of this principle.

The
Social
Principle
in Ameri-
can Life

¹ Herbert Hoover. *American Individualism*, p. 9.

The
Individual
in Ameri-
can Life

The
Concrete
Product
of the
Historical
Process
is the
Individual
Human
Being

The Rôles
of the
Factors
of the
Historical
Process
in the
Develop-
ment
of the
Individual

Biological
Determin-
ism

Although the emphasis upon individual ability, achievement, and responsibility gives American life its obvious quality, the fundamental factors in the historical process establish its general form. In truth, American individualism is nothing more than the product of a certain equilibrium existing among these essential forces. The distinctive and the general attributes of American life come from the same sources; and both have their real existence only in the concrete day-by-day lives of the living millions who make up the present population. The general forces of the historical process have their only expression in individual lives.

In the development of each adult the three factors—biological endowment, social inheritance, and environmental conditions—unite to shape the final personality. The great problem in the study of human life is to ascertain the relative importance of these three factors in this development. And each has its partisans. In general biologists, eugenists, and psychologists assert that original nature is the all-important factor. Studies of the re-appearance of the traits of genius and degeneracy from generation to generation in the same families—the Darwins as an example of inherited genius, the Kallikaks and Jukes as examples of persisting degeneracy—provide the weight of evidence in the support of their contentions.

It is clear that the quality of the inborn traits does limit the individual's capacity to achieve, but is it also clear that each individual does achieve according to the quality of his original endowment? Is there a biological "predestination" to greatness, to mediocrity, and to crime as well as to immortality? Has every genius born of woman served himself and his race with the full fruits of his abilities? Or is it true, as the poet has it, that "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air"?

A great number of the students of sociology, history, and ethics find it impossible to accept the answers which the ardent advocates of the supreme importance of heredity in individual and social development give to these questions. These students admit that there are superior and inferior strains of men, but they do not admit that these strains are the determining factors in human development. To reason in such a way, they say, is to deny the effects of disease, poverty, isolation, accident, and choice in human life. Can it be true, they ask, that every man born to slavery has been inferior to the lowest slave-driver? Or can it be true that every person born to wealth, opportunity, and social eminence has been superior by birth to all of those persons the lower social status of whose parents deprived them of such advantages? Has it been proved that the ditch-digger's child is, as a general rule, mentally

inferior to the child of the banker or the professor? If such were the case would the slave ever have been liberated, or would the rich ever have lost any of their eminence, or would the log-cabin ever have been the starting point for a career which ended in the White House?

The opponents of biological determinism continue their argument along the following lines. If absolute equality of opportunity for full development existed, they grant that biological determinism might work out, but since such an equality of opportunity never did exist and does not now exist, they hold that other factors are fully as powerful as biological inheritance. Among these other factors, those which establish variation in opportunity for development—a variation which is as much a fact as is variation in everything else—are declared to be the most important. When biological superiority and opportunity unite, there is fruitful development. When biological inferiority has surpassing opportunity even the dullard goes far; and conversely, when natural ability roots in a barren soil, it has a stunted growth. Biological endowment and opportunity for development seem to function together. One without the other is not quite futile, but nearly so; certainly one is not a compensation for the other. Cultural and physical conditions establish the variability of opportunities. Originally the environment was the more important of the two, and when the full power of elemental forces breaks forth it may still be the supreme factor. Neither genius nor culture can avail before the earthquake, the tidal wave, the storm, drought, flood, or excessive cold or heat. Since culture has been a continuous conquest of physical conditions, it has become the essential factor in creating opportunities: the richer the culture, the more opportunities there are for each individual. In the handicraft stages of industry there were some two hundred possible economic callings; under modern conditions there are several thousand. What would Henry Ford have done among the Australian aborigines? Could even he have organized the mass-production of boomerangs on that cultural level? When self-denial was a supreme virtue St. Simon the Stylite could be a champion ascetic. Could a Rockefeller have been as successful in asceticism as he has been in acquisitiveness? What will become of military genius if the League of Nations is a success? Is biological endowment the sole cause of differences in social status between a resident of Park Avenue and a denizen of the lower East Side, or between the inhabitants of the cattle country and those of the Back Bay district of Boston? Hardly. Cultural elements provide the materials with which biological traits work out their expression. If the proper instruments are not at hand,

Culture,
as the
Important
Factor

there can be no expression. What would a great musician do with only a tom-tom to pound? The opponents of biological determinism are as vehement as its protagonists.

Obviously, to arbitrate such contradictory assertions would be a dangerous undertaking, but at least it can be safely agreed that biological endowment, cultural opportunities, and environmental conditions function together in the development of each personality. The inborn tendencies provide the raw drives to action, culture gives shape to their final expression, and the physical environment acts as a limitation and stimulation within which life and culture may exist.

Undoubtedly it would be a great society which could claim the perfect expression of the inborn capacities of its entire membership,—and it might be a society terrible with vice and crime. But “vice” and “crime” are cultural terms. Among headhunters the way to social prestige is by murder. Nor is murder a crime in war among civilized peoples. Only a short time ago it was not legally wrong to possess and to consume alcoholic liquors. Advancing culture has been not only an expression of man’s energies, but a limitation upon them as well. In fact, the true view of culture sees it as a set of beliefs and practices which express, satisfy, suppress, thwart, and sublimate the elements of man’s original nature. One culture may express acquisitiveness, and another may suppress pugnacity; one may sublimate the play instinct, and yet another may thwart them all. The latter would be a thoroughly ascetic condition. In any society, there may be persons with traits so strong that the cultural bonds cannot hold them in check. Such persons may become martyrs, or merely criminals. If a condition arises under which these same traits may be of immediate service, such persons may become heroes. At least one New York gunman found use for his criminality in the World War to the extent that he became a pride to his city and nation. On the other hand, the license of the war stimulated criminal tendencies in many a man who up to the time of his military service had been a law-abiding citizen. Cultural and social situations modify the worth of inborn capacities because they provide the stimulations which draw out the traits of the individual. The adult personality exhibits the ways, means, and values of living of the society in which it develops. Both the great and the weak in endowments strain the bonds which would hold them to a fixed expression, but the bulk of the masses fit into their culture without serious friction. It appears that culture, as it establishes the great difference between societies both in time and in place, is also the essential factor in working out distinctions among the multitudes of average individuals in a society.

The biological endowment brings energies and abilities to life; culture weaves these energies and abilities into the social order. For one person, inborn traits may determine everything; for another, opportunity may be the important factor; for still another, environmental conditions may serve to set a permanent trend; for all, culture offers a means to and a variety in development. Social inheritance is manifestly a factor that cannot be disregarded in any consideration of the development of the individual. The three factors of the historical process vary in their influence upon individual development, and each personality is the expression of their synthetic functioning; but in this functioning the forces do not always exert the same power and hold the same position. Variation in the rôles of these factors is a conclusion that it is well to recognize. There is no easy answer to the puzzle of human life and its development.

The infant born to American life brings a biological endowment, inherited from European or African stock, and evolved through the geologic and prehistoric ages. In this endowment are the fundamental elements of the adult personality, but the latter is developed by a gradual unfolding under the conditions of American life. The cultural forms of American society are shaped about the traits, and give to the infant his ways and means of living—tastes for foods, articles of dress, forms of recreation, social amenities, standards of success and honor, and loyalties. In a word, he is given the folkways and customs of American living. All that is distinctively national becomes a part of him, and differentiates him from all other nationalities. Within the nation such factors as the life of his community, his home, and his school give the specific shape to the developing personality. He acquires the "flair" of the "four hundred" or the "breeze" of the slum, according to the status of his family.

True, there may be something fine or crude in him that breaks out in any case. Preacher's sons are notorious for their escapades, and famous for their achievements. There is nothing in being a minister's son that will prevent vulgarity and vice, but there is something in it that does work to give right and good expression to traits. The "gentleman" may be a "rounder," and a "bum" may exhibit graces. There is nothing incongruous in such manifestations. The capacities for usual things exist in most men. To a few go exceptional strength, and to another few go exceptional weakness; to the vast average go about equal and normal endowments.

Circumstances and opportunities cause the great differences which appear among them. Occupation is usually determined by the jobs which are open to youth between the ages of fourteen and

The Individual is Shaped to American Life by taking on the Elements of American Culture

twenty-three, and these jobs are determined by the industries of the communities in which they live. Often the young man follows his father's calling. Religious and political convictions are inherited from family convictions. Family practices, manners, and tastes are established by social position within the community. In contemporary life economic factors usually determine this position. In cities the unskilled laborers, skilled artisans, salaried clerks, small merchants, professional workers, great merchants, industrial capitalists, and bankers represent an easily recognized scale of practices—exhibited in food, clothing, residence, amusement, and refinement. In rural life, the agricultural laborers, tenants, and farm-owners show similar differences. The developing personality of each individual takes on the attributes of life to which he is born a member. Of course he may pass from group to group, but in passing there is the enforced adaptation of old ways of life to the new conditions. The senator who once proclaimed the "overalls" and repudiated the "dress-suit" merely reflected the cultural difference between farmers and the well-to-do of cities. To be a "dirt farmer" means to accept a certain set of ideas, practices, and values, while to be a trade unionist or a club-man means the acceptance of other sets. The general elements in American culture mold each person who develops under it into an American, and the special elements in the culture, established by geographic location, economic status, family tradition, and social conditions, give each personality its unique place in community and national life.

The fundamental factors of development find their concrete expression in individual human beings—men and women—with needs to satisfy, ends to achieve, and hopes to realize. There is nothing in history or in society which has not been a part of individual life.

Each Individual Possesses a Highly Developed Mind

The Content of the Mind:

Reflexes

Instincts

The concrete element of American life is, therefore, a human being who, because he is such, possesses a highly organized mind by which his adjustments to the situations of life are made. Sensations arriving through the end-organs are assimilated into this mind and adjusted to the learned forms of response before he acts upon the stimulating impulse. The factors in the development of the individual establish the content of this mind. First, there are the inborn traits which constitute "original nature." In this portion of the mind are the reflexes which operate sub-consciously to adjust the organism to the conditions of the physical environment, but more important are the instincts which unfold in the characteristic human activities. The reflexes and instinctive elements of the individual mind survive from pre-human and prehistoric life. Above this biologically inherited

portion is the second general division of the content of the mind, the acquired elements which the organism receives as knowledge, ideas, and opinions in the development from birth to death. In this acquisition the social heritage becomes a part of the mind.

Of first importance among these acquired elements are infantile impressions. They come to the child without his conscious recognition of their existence. He takes on, just as he learns to talk (in fact, language is such an acquisition), numerous ideas about life and the world. "Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined," and these early experiences determine, in a large measure, the character of an individual. He is honest or untrustworthy, industrious or lazy, thrifty or extravagant, quite often to the degree to which his early impressions have influenced him in these directions. The importance of this early period in establishing the content of the mind is recognized by those religious and patriotic teachers who insist that training in faith and loyalty shall be given as early as possible.

**Infantile
Impres-
sions**

**Tradi-
tional
Ideas**

The second part of the acquired content of a mind consists of the ideas and beliefs prevalent in the place and time in which the individual lives. Every place and time have specifically accepted beliefs, founded, in the first place, upon tradition, upon age-long acceptance, and, in the second place, upon convention or universal acceptance at a particular time. These may be part of the early impressions of the mind, but they deserve separate enumeration because they constitute the bulk of every individual's beliefs and ideas. For the average person they determine the concepts of industrial, social, political, and religious conditions which are possible and desirable. Just as the inherited tendencies give original direction to activity, so also these acquired elements of the mind—infantile impressions, traditional ideas, and conventional acceptances—determine its final form.

**Conven-
tional
Beliefs**

Superimposed upon these elements of the mind may be the ideas recently brought into the world by science. They are the products of men's conscious efforts to find and to test knowledge. In recent times these ideas have established their supremacy in the fields of industry and medicine; now they are becoming powerful in education, politics, and social relations. Convention, tradition, and infantile impressions cannot argue successfully with scientific knowledge—inoculation for typhoid fever or small-pox is its own proof against unbelief. Little of this scientific knowledge, however, is acquired by the average individual. His development acquaints him with no more than the successful operation of scientific knowledge in machines. It appears to him only as a thing of iron and power. The fact that scientific knowledge concerning nearly every phase of life exists, is unknown to the mass of

**Scientific
Knowl-
edge**

men. Until they acquire it, their use of such knowledge is impossible. Of course, they may derive advantage from its existence in the work of specialists, but that genuine use which involves understanding and appreciation is for them impossible. One of the present problems is to instruct every person in the knowledge of the sciences. The inherited traits are the motive power of the mind; early impressions, and traditional and conventional ideas are conservative factors; scientific knowledge is the constructive portion.

**The
Quality
of the
Individual
Mind**

The original natures of savage and civilized men are held to be similar in all essentials, and each child is born uncivilized. Its civilization is acquired by making the social heritage a part of its life. In other words, the mind of a modern adult represents the savage mind plus the overlying cultural development of the ages. In every mind survives not only the original nature of primordial man, but a selection from the cultural achievements of every age.

**The
Savage
Mind**

Primitive men had a distaste for reasoning and little appreciation of abstract thought, so that their explanations were by supernatural powers. Natural causes were unknown, and accidents never occurred. Always the unseen world was just behind the untoward event. He knew much about the ordinary matter-of-fact activities of life, but he did not regard this as knowledge. Emotion embodied in ritualistic and traditional activity held the savage mind to an acceptance of established ideas, and individuality found its chief expression in industrial technique in which the impossibility of reduplication by hand labor made variation a fact. This variation provided a release for the vain and æsthetic elements of savage nature.

**The
Average
Mind**

Civilized men, when considered in the mass, are barely above the mental level of the savage and barbaric worlds. "The average brain is naturally lazy and tends to take the line of the least resistance. The mental world of the ordinary man consists of beliefs which he has accepted without questioning and to which he is firmly attached; he is instinctively hostile to anything which would upset the established order of this familiar world. A new idea, inconsistent with some of the beliefs which he holds, means the necessity of rearranging his mind; and this process is laborious, requiring a painful expenditure of brain-energy. To him and his fellows, who form the vast majority, new ideas and opinions which cast doubt on established beliefs seem evil because they are disagreeable."² The average modern man shows no more capacity for sustained mental effort than the savage. Also, he is quite as

² J. B. Bury. *The Freedom of Thought*, pp. 8-9.

likely to subordinate reason to desire. When he is curious, it is about personal qualities, and his attention is easily and generally scattered. Furthermore, the average modern man has little information about life and the world, or their problems. He is credulous and gullible, intolerant and uncritical. For him, whatever he believes is right, whatever he disbelieves is wrong, and both satisfy his desires rather than his reason. Since he lacks the courage to form his own convictions, prestige and authority dominate his thinking. At the same time the average modern is egotistical, valuing his views above all others, and asserting his opinions with vindictive argument. In the end it is always respectability—the conformity which secures social approval—that he seeks to maintain.

The average mind is formed in the running current of early impressions, traditional beliefs, and conventional knowledge. Sustained mental effort, the withheld judgment, the evaluation of evidence, the willingness to reject established beliefs, to disregard traditional and conventional sanctions, and to accept new ideas when supported by evidence—all these belong to the higher type of human minds. These powers of the higher minds make their possessors the creators of the cultural departures which drag the unwilling multitudes forward to higher civilization. Nevertheless, these men of the average minds, “the common people,” as Cooley writes, “live more in the central current of human experience than men of wealth and distinction. Domestic morality, religious sentiment, faith in man and God, loyalty to country and the fruits of the human heart grow in homely conditions, and they easily wither when these conditions are lost. To be one among the many is in one way a position of security and grandeur. One stands, as it were, with the human race at his back sharing its claim on truth, justice and God.”³

The
Highest
Type of
Mind

The individual mind of civilized man gathers into itself the heritage of the past—animal evolution, savagery, barbarism, early civilization, medieval culture, and modern departures. Most of its qualities and content have been established by the ages, rather than by modern times. For indeed modern times have been very short! Professor Robinson gives a schematic view of the time relation of the different periods in the development of the modern mind. He writes, “Let us assume that a single generation of men have in fifty years managed to accumulate all that now passes for civilization. . . . On this scale it would require forty-nine years to reach a point which would enable our self-taught generation to give up their ancient and inveterate habits of wandering hunters

The In-
dividual
Mind
is the
Product
of Man-
kind's
Develop-
ment

³ C. H. Cooley. *Social Organization*, p. 136.

and settle down here and there to till the ground, harvest their crops, domesticate animals, and weave their rough garments. Six months later, or half through the fiftieth year, some of them, in a particularly favorable situation, would have invented writing and thus established a new and wonderful means of spreading and perpetuating civilization. Three months later another group would have carried literature, art and philosophy to a high degree of refinement and set standards for the succeeding weeks. For two months our generation would have been living under the blessings of Christianity; the printing press would be but a fortnight old and they would not have had the steam engine for quite a week. For two or three days they would have been hastening about the globe in steamships and railroad trains, and only yesterday would they have come upon the magical possibilities of electricity. Within the last few hours they would have learned to sail in the air and beneath the waters, and have forthwith applied their newest discoveries to the prosecution of a magnificent war on the scale befitting their high ideals and new resources."⁴ The newborn infant in an American home becomes an adult by acquiring in the rapid years of childhood and adolescence the distinctive attributes of western civilization and the unique elements of American culture. His mind is first the product of the ages, and second that of his own generation.

The Outward Expression of Mind is the Individual Behavior

All life exists by the interplay of stimuli and responses. The end-organs of the human nervous system make possible a fine integration with the environment, and the cultural accumulation which is embodied in the content of the mind provides a subtle relating of incoming sensations to the past experience of the race and of the individual. In these associational activities of the brain the responses to the situations of life are determined. The sensations which flow from the stimulating environment through the mind issue finally at the end of the response arc in the activity by which life is maintained. The sum total of a man's responses constitutes his behavior. That "actions speak louder than words" is old wisdom. Men live with each other and are known to each other only by their behaviors. It is the outward manifestation of individual existence—the objective expressions of original nature, cultural development, and environmental stimulations. "This sum of behavior is the total struggle for existence and achievement. By far the greater part of it consists of efforts to meet instant needs. A lesser but large part consists of efforts to obtain desired but not imperative satisfactions. The remainder is free expenditure 'for the fun of it,' not at the moment productive but tending always to become experiment, and experiment leads to

⁴J. H. Robinson. *The Mind in the Making*, pp. 83-84.

discovery, without which there could be no achievements.”⁵ The final issue, therefore, of all past development and present life is behavior. Behavior, through time, takes form in the events which are history; organized in the present, as institutions, associations, and relations among men, it constitutes society; exhibited by the individual, it is personality. It is the concrete and objective expression of original nature, cultural accumulation, and environmental stimulation. Needs satisfied or unsatisfied, tendencies expressed or thwarted, hopes realized or fallen, ends achieved or unattained—all alike take form in behavior.

Behavior, therefore, includes many types of responses. Those of the lowest order are merely reflex acts, such as coughing and sneezing. A much higher type are the instinctive acts. These are the great gestures of life—seeking a mate, doing a work, acquiring property, building a reputation, and making friends or enemies. Another type is the impulsive act. It arises out of the moment’s desire, and usually expresses the power of an emotion. Indeed, the emotions condition all behavior, giving to the responses their qualities of mood.

But the bulk of behavior consists of what may be called “habitual acts.” A response once made tends to recur with the repetition of the stimulation which originally aroused it. A habit may be defined as such a repeated response, and each repetition strengthens its tendency to reappear. Habits, therefore, become permanent types of responses. They become unconscious acts, and emerge along lines of previous activity. Their place in the sum total of behavior is very nearly all-important. The instinctive drives organize themselves into habits, the forms of which are established by the conventional and traditional patterns of behavior carried in the social heritage. It is this organization of man’s native equipment into habits which maintains the stability of a social order. Instead of each individual’s fundamental drives appearing in unique responses, they are fitted to types of response common to all. As a result, man’s original nature has been held to the varying expressions which the history of social orders reveals. Furthermore, although original nature provides the great drives to action, the meaning of the drives in life is acquired. Original nature cannot be changed, but the habitual forms of response in which it is expressed can be modified. Man, therefore, is given the opportunity of shaping his native proclivities into chosen and selected forms of behavior. In this way the social heritage, as it provides changing institutional and ethical forms of expression, has within itself the power to mold man’s

Behavior is Compounded from many Types of Responses:

Reflex Action,

Instinctive Acts,

Impulsive Acts;

Emotions Condition all Behavior;

Habits; Reasoned Responses;

Abnormal Behavior

⁵ F. H. Giddings. “Pluralistic Behavior,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 25, p. 385.

primal energies into continuously changing types of response. By cultural development the native energies of man have been modified in expression from savagery to present civilization, and by the same development they can be further modified. The permanent character of the habitual response makes it a great conservative agent. "It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein. . . . It dooms us all to fight out the battle of our life upon the lines of our nurture or early choice, and to make the best of a pursuit that disagrees, because there is no other for which we are fitted, and it is too late for us to begin again."⁶ Habits set the cast of individual behavior, so that by them the original energies are held to fixed responses, and in them are conserved the types of responses carried in the social heritage. They give consistency to the behavior of each individual.

The highest type of response, however, is that determined by reason and enforced by conscious control. In such responses the highest functions of the brain are exercised. In this functioning the content of the mind is related to the stimulating situation before the response is made. As the best elements of the mind, such as scientific knowledge, æsthetic appreciation, and altruistic morals are used to determine response, man reaches the noblest form of conduct possible for him. As each person avails himself of the higher elements of developing culture, questions and chooses among them by reason, and even departs from them because of his deliberations, not only does his behavior become of the highest type, but the content of culture is augmented. Above all, since this reasoned and consciously controlled behavior may be organized into habits, and thus become permanent, reason may be released to work at the conscious determination of other responses. It does not necessarily occur, however, that reason so released is set at such a good work. It may be left to languish in the satisfaction secured by responses already established. The true function of reasoning is never to justify an established condition, but to test it critically in relation to the ever-changing experiences.

Instinctive tendencies pattern all behavior, habits give it type forms, emotions give it intensities of pleasure and distress, and reason provides a conscious means of altering old and of finding new responses. A behavior consisting of such responses may be called normal. Since parts of the mind other than those of the highest levels influence responses, all behavior is not characterized by these qualities. In the subconscious mind exist old desires, sup-

⁶ William James. *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 121.

pressed wishes, thwarted instincts, and forgotten impulses, any one of which may find a sudden release in responses, and give to behavior a form utterly different from that of usual life. Of such responses are eccentricity and insanity made. Weakened and diseased conditions of the nervous system may also distort responses into uncommon forms. Indeed, normal behavior is doing the usual and customary things, while abnormal behavior is doing the unusual.

Behavior, in all of these forms, is the expression of the individual mind as that mind is organized from the strength of the organism, the original traits, and the cultural elements which have been received into the mind. Behavior is the whole functioning of the individual in relation to his associates and to the environment. It is the expression of life and the ingredients of society.

In this behavior the forms of activity have an order of importance. This order is determined, first by the fundamental needs for satisfaction and expression within the organism, and second by the values which are given to the various activities in the nurturing culture. Those actions which a man considers as mattering greatly to him—by need, desire, or choice—may be called his “interests.” The average person finds his first interest in the work by which he lives. It is a necessity to him. His second interest is usually his family, or his love, or his comrade—those persons who provide the emotional experience of his life. Of third importance are his leisure and play, the activities of diverse kinds in which his free energies are exerted and from which pleasing satisfactions are secured. Beyond these major activities are his interests in religion, art, literature, education, and public affairs. Of these the latter usually receives the least attention. In 1913 a magazine writer cataloged the interests of American life, in the order of their importance, as “the ‘ticker,’ female apparel, baseball bulletins, the movies, bridge-whist, turkey trotting, yellow journal headlines and funny papers, and prize fights.” Obviously this list revealed only the more superficial aspects of life in the larger cities. Certainly it did not include a fair statement of the interests of the laboring or agricultural classes. For the latter “crops” and “weather,” at least, ought to have been added. The importance of such an enumeration, however, is not in its accuracy, but in the suggestive assertion of the types of activities which fill most lives. “Life is made of many and little things,” and even the conscious desires of man may find trivialities the things that count. Basic to life, however, are those great instinctive acts—eating, mating, fighting, acquiring, playing—which form the bulk of all behavior. Plainly, man does not live on high philosophic levels. With his usual interests realized, he revels in

**For the
Individual
the Pat-
tern of
Behavior
is Estab-
lished
by his
Interests**

incidental and capricious activity. Interests as they are exhibited in behavior reveal a man's evaluation of his life. They establish the quality of behavior.

**Person-
ality**

The final blend of inborn energies, socially inherited ideas and viewpoints, and developed interests gives to each individual's behavior a unique attribute—personality. Every portion of the biological endowment, mental and physical alike, enters into its formation, but of the cultural and environmental factors only those with which the person has immediate experience are important. Above all, personality is a social creation, shaped in the quick associations of daily life. In the day-by-day contacts with others, energy, understanding, wit, appreciation, sympathy, and moods are exhibited in an entity of behavior which becomes for others the identity of the individual. The varying qualities of these several attributes of behavior are reflected in a judgment rendered by people with whom one associates. In fact, the worth of personality is established by this judgment. For others personality is a stimulating experience—pleasing, disagreeable, or indifferent; to the individual it is an identity and a realization—life's efforts and rewards.

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CHAPTER XII

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN LIFE: SOCIAL ASPECTS

Personal behavior is the concrete manifestation of life, and in it are organized the relations among men which are society. Behavior—as the raw material of society—takes form in “contacts” among men. Of these contacts there are two types, direct and indirect. The former are face to face relations with others; the latter are received and exerted through culture, chiefly by written language and articles of commerce. From contacts are organized the associations, institutions, communities, and groups which establish the sum total of relations among men—society itself. Man, with his limitations of mind and body, is the unit of experience and the instrument of action. Society exists as the unity of interlocking human lives, and the expression and organization of their interdependence. Associations serve the variable interests of the individual. Institutions minister to his permanent needs. Communities contain his goings and comings of daily life, the face-to-face contacts of men. A community is the local organization of behavior in the concrete associations and institutions of society. A correct idea of life cannot be conceived without an appreciation and knowledge of community. In the organization of American society, biological, environmental, and cultural developments establish personal behavior, which through contacts are formed into associations, institutions, and communities, and create the group or national existence within the world-life of mankind.

To understand the organization of American society it is necessary to observe the contacts which personal behaviors establish.

The following outline suggests a partial view of these contacts:

1. Race and nationality: contacts with the past.
2. Family: biological relations to other living individuals.
 - a. By sex.
 - b. By age.
 - (1) Aged: above 65.
 - (2) Adult: 21 to 65.
 - (3) Youth: 15 to 21.
 - (4) Children: 3 to 15.
 - (5) Infants: 1 to 3.

**The
Organiza-
tion of
American
Society**

**Behavior
Estab-
lishes
Contacts
Among In-
dividuals**

**Types of
Contacts
among In-
dividuals**

3. Institutional contacts.

a. Economic.

(1) Occupation, business, profession.

(2) Property owning: (a) for use; (b) for income.

b. Religious.

(1) Church membership.

(2) Religious societies and activities.

c. Educational.

(1) Schooling of each family member.

(2) Reading: newspapers, periodicals, books.

(3) Educational clubs and societies.

d. Political.

(1) Party affiliation.

(2) Offices in governmental institutions.

(3) Special political associations for consideration of public affairs.

e. Recreational.

(1) Automobile ownership.

(2) Amusement clubs and societies.

(3) Usual forms of amusements.

**Family
Contacts
in a Com-
munity**

Since the average person is a member of a family group, the best view of his contacts in a community can be secured by listing the contacts which he and his family have with other individuals. The following data exhibit a specific group of such contacts:

1. Nationality: American, *i. e.*, all consciousness of European ancestry lost.

2. The family members, by age groups.

a. 2 males, 1 adult, 1 youth.

b. 2 females, 1 adult, 1 youth.

3. Institutional contacts.

	The father	The mother	The daughter	The son
a. Econom- ic	Box manu- facturer Owner of home Owner of in- come property	None except through husband	None except through family	Worker in box factory
b. Reli- gions	Episco- palian Masonic Lodge	Episco- palian Woman's Auxiliary Women's Guild	Episco- palian Altar Guild Girls' Friendly Society	None
c. Educa- tional	8 years of schooling News- papers:	11 years of schooling News- papers:	12 years of schooling News- papers:	8 years of schooling News- papers:

	Gazette, Republican, Chicago Tribune Periodicals: Saturday Evening Post	Gazette, Republican, Chicago Tribune Periodicals: Woman's Home Companion Clubs: Cultus Club, Woman's Club	Gazette, Republican, Chicago Tribune Periodicals: Woman's Home Companion Movie Magazine, La Petite Journal Clubs: Erodelphian. None	Gazette, Republican, Chicago Tribune None None Movies Dancing
d. Political	Republican Party	Republican Party		
e. Recreational	Family has two automobiles Cards Movies	two automobiles Cards	Movies, Dancing, etc., (meaning affairs of youth)	Movies Dancing

The contacts of these four individuals center in the family group, and the family, in turn, reaches into a community. One member of this family belonged to a group of nineteen individuals whose contacts in their community are exhibited by the following data: **Several Family Contacts in a Community**

1. Nationality.
 - a. Five Americans.
 - b. One Swiss.
 - c. Two Germans.
 - d. One Austrian.
 - e. One Filipino.
 - f. Nine mixtures: four predominantly Irish; other nationalities represented were English, Welsh, Spanish, French, and Russian.
2. The nineteen families included:
 - a. 80 persons.
 - b. 43 males, 37 females.
 - c. 2 aged, 43 adults, 30 youths, 5 children, no infants.
3. Institutional contacts of the nineteen families.
 - a. Economic.
 1. Professions: (6) 1 Chautauqua worker, 1 accountant, 1 teacher, 1 music teacher, 1 lawyer, 1 dentist.
 2. Businesses: (4) 1 life insurance agent, 1 manager of a rug and drapery store, 1 grain dealer, 1 lumberman.
 3. Occupations: (6) 1 farmer, 1 railroad engineer, 1 packing house foreman, 1 wholesale house foreman, 1 interior decorator, 1 printer.

4. Industries: (3) 1 foundry operator, 1 box manufacturer, 1 manufacturer of medicines and toilet articles.
5. Property ownership:
 - a. For use: 19 owners of homes.
 - b. For income: 10.
- b. Religious.
 1. Church memberships: 7 Presbyterians, 4 Methodists, 4 Catholics, 2 Episcopalians, 1 Baptist, 1 Quaker, 1 Reformed Lutheran, 1 Congregationalist, 1 Christian.
 2. Memberships in other religious or semi-religious associations: 2 Odd Fellows, 2 Christian Endeavorers, 3 de Molays, 2 Shriners, 2 Eastern Stars, 3 Mason, 1 White Shrine, 7 Y. M. C. A., 5 Y. W. C. A., 1 Rebecca, 1 Women's Auxiliary, 1 Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, 1 Baptist Young Peoples' Association, 1 Royal Neighbor, 1 Ladies Aid Society, 1 Parish Guild, 1 Interdenominational Society, 1 Girls' Friendly Society, 1 Elk, 1 Knights of Pythias, 1 Blue Bird, 2 Red Cross.
- c. Educational.
 1. Schooling: 23 elementary school education, 8 partial elementary school education, 7 high school education, 17 college education, 22 in high school, 3 in elementary school.
 2. Educational associations: 21 memberships in 7 high school literary societies, 1 Sinclair Literary Society, 1 Ohio, 1 Literary Musical Club, 1 D. A. R., 1 Rotary Club, 1 Cultus Club, 2 Woman's Club.
 3. Newspapers: 11 Republican, 14 Gazette, 3 Des Moines Register, 4 Chicago Tribune, 1 Los Angeles Times, 1 Fort Dodge Times, 3 Chicago Examiner, 1 Labor, 1 Union Advocate, 1 Tribune (local labor paper), 1 Philippine Press.
 4. Periodicals: 3 Pictorial Review, 4 National Geographic, 2 Collier's, 1 Leslie's, 9 American Magazine, 6 Saturday Evening Post, 2 Woman's World, 1 Lumber Journal, 3 Popular Mechanics, 5 Woman's Home Companion, 2 Red Book, 7 Ladies' Home Journal, 2 The Continent, 6 La Petite Journal, 8 Literary Digest, 1 True Story, 1 Cosmopolitan, 1 American Boy, 1 Modern Priscilla, 2 The Menace, 1 Etude, 1 Mooseheart Magazine, 1 Farmer's Wife, 1 Country Gentleman, 1 People's Home Journal, 1 Popular Monthly, 1 Good Housekeeping, 1 Munsey Magazine, 1 Industrial World, 1 Atlantic Monthly.
- d. Political.
 1. Parties: 15 Republicans, 7 Democrats, 4 Non-Partisans, 1 Independent Voters' Association, 1 Philippine Nationalist Party.
 2. No offices.
- e. Recreational.
 1. Automobiles: 13 families owned 15 cars, 6 families without cars.

2. Usual amusements: 13 persons liked dances, 22 movies, 4 dates, 5 parties, 11 card parties, 6 car riding, 3 lodge activities, 4 picnics, 6 recitals, 5 lectures, 3 theatres, 7 candy making, 6 baseball and football, 3 golf, and 2 preferred dinners.
3. Amusement clubs: 3 golf clubs, 1 dancing club, 1 card club, 1 art club, 1 country club, 1 community club.

These contacts indicate the chief aspects of the lives of these several families within their community.

The final organization of American society is to be seen in the integration of this community with other communities, through the existence of institutions and associations serving needs and interests common to all. The 80 persons in these 19 families were a part of a local population of 47,000. These in turn were only a part of a greater population of about 1,500,000 in an area about the community. In this way these families merged into the American people. A survey of the institutions and associations of the community reveals its place in the national life.

The Integration of the Individual through a Community into the National Life

Its chief economic institutions and associations are as follows:

- 500 retail establishments,
- 154 industries,
- 87 insurance companies,
- 31 wholesale houses,
- 11 banks, 7 members of Federal Reserve Banking System,
- 4 railroads,
- 4 interurbans,
- 13 business men's associations and clubs,
- 26 labor unions,
- 13 railroad men's organizations.

A finer analysis of the economic life of the community exhibits more clearly the interdependence which is the great fact in contemporary organization. Specific mention should be made of four industries—a packing plant, an oatmeal mill, a starch works, and a dairy products factory. These are large scale enterprises owned and managed as corporations, employing many workmen, buying the products of the immediate agricultural area, and selling the manufactured articles in the national and world markets. Local industries send other articles to the same markets, while wholesale and retail establishments bring in return the goods of the earth. More than 90,000 cars of freight are handled in the community each year. In 1920 the retail sales amounted to \$50,000,000, and the manufactured products were valued at \$97,000,000. At the same time the wages approached \$100,000 a day. In the labor and consumption of the people the economic needs of each individ-

ual are served. By the same labor and consumption, they participate in the economic activity of contemporary life.

The religious composition of the community shows 193 churches, 196 fraternal orders, and 6 welfare institutions. Certainly the supreme religious fact of American life—the diversity of Christian sects—is clearly exhibited by these figures.

The educational institutions indicate the unity of the community with the general intellectual life of the nation. They are as follows:

- 2 daily newspapers,
- 7 weekly papers,
- 23 public schools,
- 8 parochial schools,
- 1 college,
- 1 business college,
- 1 public library,
- 1 Masonic library.

By these institutions the information, opinions, and ideas of present culture are carried to the members of the community, who are thus held to an acceptance of the conventional, traditional, and scientific elements current in the usual intellectual intercourse.

The political integration of the population in the national life is best seen in the votes cast for the leading candidates in the election of 1924:

Coolidge	22,334
Davis	5,924
Lafollette	6,334

The two men from the city who hold high positions in the federal government, and the twenty-two employees and officials of the federal government who have their work in the city, achieve a functional unity of the community with the nation. Eleven patriotic societies reveal the local recognition of this unity.

The amusement possibilities of the community indicate the typical recreational elements in American culture. They include:

- 3 public parks,
- 1 public golf links,
- 1 country club,
- 5 dance halls,
- 4 bowling alleys,
- 19 pool halls,
- 1 league baseball team,
- 2 football teams,
- 2 vaudeville houses,
- 6 moving picture theaters.

Twenty-eight societies for immigrants from Europe or their children show the mixture of peoples in the American population. Each year sixty conventions, drawing members from many other communities, assemble in the city. Fifteen hotels serve the transient population. Telephones to the number of 11,917 bind the community in a close unity, and further diminish its isolation from the outside world.

In this analysis of a person's relations to a community, and of the latter's relations to the nation is exhibited the organization of behavior into the national life. The individual through a family is fitted into a community, and through the associations, institutions, and interests in the community is integrated with the social life of his generation. The nation is but the largest group aspect of these individual behaviors.

In personal behavior emerge the biological, environmental, and cultural developments of the past; from this behavior is organized through contacts, associations, institutions, communities, and nations, the relations between men which constitute world society. All of this listing is to no purpose unless it has enforced the recognition that behavior, in its two phases, individual and social, is the reality of life—the manifestation of personality and the embodiment of society. The nation exists as an entity of life organized from such behavior. In the activities of living millions, the American nation has its being. The American nation is not a history—interminable words on endless pages, nor a colored block on a map, nor a sum of statistics; it is the concrete day-by-day life of some hundred millions of human beings. It dies with every death, it is reborn with every birth, and it survives in the behavior of the living millions. Its identity is preserved by their unity under a common culture. American society is the entity of life in which flow the varying individual behaviors of the American people.

**American
Society
is the
Social
Phase
of the
Behavior
of the
Individuals
Who Make
up the
American
People**

As such behaviors manifest the existence of definite personalities, the concrete human aspect of the operation of the historical process appears as a second activity which is the social process. The historical process carries forward the entity of life in an endless series of events and transformations, which are the adjustments of life, of environmental conditions, and of cultural factors to one another; the social process adjusts the personalities to one another within the entity of life. The former is elemental in its energies: the latter is concretely human. By the operation of the social process such terms as "pal," "leader," "rank and file," "masses," "upper-crust," and "under-dog" are given meaning. It is the "school of experience," "the university of hard knocks," wherein are learned the ways of men and the world. It was by the social

**The
Historical
Process
Appears
Concretely
in Human
Lives
as the
Social
Process**

process that the wisdom of Kipling's famous line "I learned about woman from her" was acquired.

**Stimula-
tion and
Inter-
action**

If men lived isolated from one another, there would be no social process; but since all human life is group life, established by contacts like those listed as existing in American life, there arises an interaction among men which not only excites behavior but conditions it as well. Every contact serves as a stimulation to the individual and to his fellows. The popular cartoon portraying "taking the joy out of life" exhibits the quick effects of certain such stimulations. Language and gesture are the concrete forms of social stimulation. Personality is expressed in words, tones of voice, facial expressions, bodily movements—in every form of behavior that carries meaning of thought and emotion to others. The slap on the back is a conventional gesture of approval, the slap in the face is an insult, and the cheering smile is the "open sesame" to good feeling and friendliness. Communication is the fundamental agent of the social process. From social stimulation arises an interaction among men in which they make responses and adjustments to one another. Sympathy, loyalty, love, grouchiness, hatred, and anger are ordinary forms of this interaction. In this way individual behavior becomes truly social.

**Social
Opposition**

Needs, desires, convictions, aspirations, in a word, personal interests, condition the even flow of this interaction and give it two great phases, social opposition and social coöperation. From one point of view the social process is nothing more than competition among individuals striving to realize their diverse interests. When this competition becomes a conscious activity, it rises to the level of conflict. The ideas and the emotions aroused in social interaction which lead men to group themselves in competing and conflicting aggregates are social forces. They set the lines of struggle within every society. Catch words, slogans, and symbols are conventional stimulations which excite men to act in accord with such forces. In the broad view, therefore, the social process appears to be the interaction of groups in service to diverse interests. The importance of culture is the determination of social forces. Institutions compete for dominance in a social order; ideas strive for supremacy over other ideas; and even cultures find themselves in conflict with other cultures. Historical and contemporary times yield no end of examples. Early modern times were filled with the rivalry of church and state for social domination. Today, industrialism contests the supremacy of the political state. Christianity became the faith of the western world only after a bitter struggle with Mithraism, a Persian religion. In present life fundamentalists and modernists strike a conflict over religious ideas. And a question for the future is, "What civilization shall

dominate the Pacific coasts, oriental or occidental?" American history affords a long series of such social oppositions and conflicts—the Pilgrims seeking religious freedom, colonial merchants protesting against the stamp tax, abolitionists assailing slavery, factory owners opposing child-labor legislation, women demanding equal rights, and the Ku Klux Klan vindicating patriotism and white supremacy.

The broad survey of history shows that the critical conflicts have been of two types: first, the clashes between culture-groups—Greeks against Persians, Teutons against Romans, Mongols against Europeans, Mohammedans against Christians, France against the rest of Europe, and Germany against the world; and second, the struggles between social classes—slaves against masters, plebeians against patricians, serfs against lords, and wage-earners against property-holders. Since social classes represent economic and political stratifications within culture-groups, the class conflict carries with it the evil of intestine strife, in which an enemy of the group may find an advantage for a successful attack upon the group. This crossing of class and culture-group lines has reacted to the advantage of each contestant at various times. In the modern age national wars have been incessant, and the class conflict has provided two great revolutions, the French and the Russian. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905, may have been the opening skirmish of a struggle between the white peoples and the colored races, but at present the race conflict is dormant. As has already been suggested, however, contemporary developments about the Pacific and Indian Oceans, are sufficiently disquieting to make the future uncertain. Is white supremacy to be accepted and unchallenged forever? But the more incessant struggles are those of "interest-groups" within nations and classes. At any one time the entity of life shows an indescribable interplay of human aggregates, seeking satisfaction for needs, protection for advantages, the achievement of desires, and the realization of aspirations. The true content of individual being is organized in the competing and conflicting associations formed under existing cultural and environmental conditions. The unity which gives strength permits struggles with men who have opposing interests. Conflict is the manifest social fact. Some sociologists find it to be the single drive to human achievement.

Obviously, however, a coördinate factor in the social process is coöperation. Men who merge their interests in service to a common end must work together. They sacrifice lesser conflicting interests to the greater common one. To establish government the Mayflower Pilgrims drew up a compact; the knights of the Klan bind themselves with oaths, and make secrecy the cloak of co-

**Social Co-
operation**

operation. A "social movement" is only a persisting coöperation which carries men onward in a common effort to realize some desired end. Within groups stimulation and interaction integrate individual activities into a mutual service to the dominating interest. Forceful personalities strive to direct the activities of the group, and the right to lead is the reward of success. Military discipline is inexorable because coöperation in an army is essential, if its force is to be available to defend a nation in time of danger. And patriotism is but a sentiment which binds a national population into a unity. In time of crisis it becomes passionate and vindictive, wreaking unseemly punishments upon those who endanger the common interest. The radical appeal for a working-class "solidarity" is an effort to unite the laboring masses for the class struggle. All groups, great and small, expel members who repudiate the interest which the groups maintain. Execution, deportation, excommunication, expulsion, "reading out of the party," and "calling in a pin" are several forms of severing group connection with an undesirable or recalcitrant member.

In the event of conflict between groups, unless one is literally destroyed or driven beyond all contacts with the opponent, there occurs some adjustment of the opposing interests. The Civil War destroyed effective service to the interest that desired to maintain slavery. It was a conflict in which one contestant was forced to acquiesce in the will of the other. Usually, however, victory is not so complete, and there is an accommodation or a compromise adjustment of the opposing interests. In the development of the Civil War crisis, the great compromises of 1820 and 1850 were attempts to accommodate the interests of the sections. Commonly conflicting groups are forced to accept the rule of "live and let live." The difficulty is agreement upon the terms of acceptance.

In the continuity of social opposition the lines of struggle are ever shifting, so that old conflicts are often ended, and the contestants are even fused into a group serving some new interest. By "assimilation," as this fusing is called, coöperation is engendered where once there was conflict. During the early months of Lincoln's administration, Seward, the Secretary of State, proposed a declaration of war on some foreign power. His hope was to hold the diverging sections in a united nation by finding in a danger from a common enemy the motive for the sacrifice of their antagonistic interests and the rallying point for their common patriotism. In the decades following the Union victory the stresses of reconstruction afford examples of the persisting maladjustments between the original conflicting interests. Not until the Spanish and World Wars were these discords merged in a new harmony.

The greatest examples of social coöperation are to be found in

the organization of the nations to fight the recent World War. The governments selected men to serve at home or in the army, operated the important agents of production and transportation, allocated raw materials to factories, fixed wages and prices, controlled profits, distributed foods, censored news, and regimented opinions. The military establishment permeated the entire social organization of the warring nations. The armies were only the blades of great fighting machines. It appears that the greater the conflict, the greater is the coöperation, and that they are thus complementary phases of the social process.

If these examples of conflict, coöperation, accommodation, and assimilation have been drawn from political affairs, it should not obscure the fact that the social process operates in the same fashion in all other phases of life. Whether it be in the supreme crises of civil strife or in the incidental bickerings of church factions, student cliques, labor unions, criminal gangs, or ladies' aid societies, the same interaction in all of its forms exists. The horse-traders' bargainings or the diplomats' conversations, the gossip of back yards or the argument of the court rooms, follow the same courses to their conclusions.

In the social process, there are for the individual the efforts to express himself, to influence others, to establish a leadership among them, and to serve a function in the final activity of his group; for the group there are the assertions of its interests in opposition to all other competitors, the holding of individuals to the service of the group interest, and the acceptance of some compromises of its aims; for society as a whole there is the continuous development of new interests, the constant reshaping of contending groups, and the constant reorganization of coöperations. In its personal, group, and societal aspects this process involves the relations of individuals to one another, not only in their immediate needs and desires, but also in their general practice of customs, acceptance of beliefs, adherence to ideas, maintenance of traditions, and organization of institutions. In that garment of mental images and emotions wherein life moves to its satisfaction or among its distresses, exist the axioms, slogans, and appeals which bind men in conflicting and coöperating aggregates. The social process is one of constant agitation, of formation and reformation of personal and group activities about the central needs of life. It is the flux of behaviors as expressed in personalities.

Man's social nature holds him to a group life wherein his personality is shaped and his interests are realized. The entity of life, of which individuality is his personal experience, is, however, more than a chaotic interplay of antagonisms supported by enforced coöperations; rather is it a great coöperation organized to

**Social
Control**

serve the elements of all men's original natures, and outside of which there are no satisfactions to be had. In this aspect individuals and groups are seen to be held to limited assertions of interests. Conflict goes on under conditions established by and among men. On all social levels they have recognized rules of a "fair fight." Throughout the ages as they have labored in life with each other, under the diverse conditions of physical nature, they have found certain actions serviceable to life and certain other actions injurious. The latter they have endeavored to suppress. All means by which an individual is held to forms of behavior sanctioned by his fellows constitute "social control." The means of social control are the rules of the "fight" for life.

Customs

A review of the accumulation of culture indicates that its essential items are folkways, customs, traditions, conventions, tabus, laws, and ideas which describe the way in which men shall act toward one another. In this connection it is well to remember the qualities of the savage and of average minds, and to realize that most of these controls are the products, not of rational efforts to understand man and his society, but of a timid and fumbling consideration of life's most immediate and pressing problems. Modern times have seen the application of rational thought in the scientific method to the problems of control over physical nature, with the result that that control has been revolutionized; but no such application of the mind's higher powers has been made to the problems of control over man's relation to man. Applied sociology, the new criminology, improved educational methods, and the reconstruction of the social sciences, are the beginnings of the scientific revamping of social controls. Of course man's experiences in the past have not been entirely fruitless. The fundamental needs and drives of life have compelled the formation of controls which permit their satisfaction and expression. The hit-and-miss release of human energies, however, has not been conducive to the development of refinements either of satisfactions or of expressions. On the whole, man's follies and abnormalities have been as potent in the formation of the traditional social controls as has been his reason. There is much in traditional culture that is sound and valuable, but there is also much, too much, that is worthless and dangerous.

**Public
Opinion**

Of the diverse forms of social control, "public opinion," that vague, intangible and formless attitude which men sense but cannot describe, is paramount. It gathers into itself the accumulated judgments of the past, but expresses, at the same time, the temporary decisions of the present. Old ignorance and new passion too often determine its content. Above all, it is fluid and changeable, shifting with events, altering with social conditions, but

always reflecting the basic prejudice, or perhaps judgment, of the culture of which it is an expression. The immediate struggle between conflicting groups is to secure for their interests the approval of public opinion, for in that approval is the permission to realize those interests. In the sanctions for the various forms of behavior which public opinion offers or withholds are provided the direct and shifting control necessary to the unstable conditions of life under the historical process. Thus public opinion, like all other forms of social control, exerts its power by governing the distribution of praise and blame, prestige and punishment, among men.

The more enduring or fixed forms of social control are the folkways, customs, conventions, tabus, and traditions, which are the bulk of culture. Folkways are followed unconsciously. They govern the ordinary and lesser acts of life. Tabus are prohibitory in effect. Against them there is no appeal. Why is it unpleasant even to suggest that Americans do not eat dog meat? It is tabu, that is all. Conventions are common sanctions whose violation are condemned but ordinarily not punished with anything more than a passing censure. The observance of conventions gives one a part in the graces and amenities of social intercourse. Customs are forms of behavior identified with a group's life. To change them is to attack the group and its welfare. Traditions are sanctions the powers of which are generated in the emotional life of the group. By these fixed and enduring forms of social control the individual is held firm in the general structure of society. They establish the type-forms of behavior which are permitted to all men.

Dogma, creed, ceremony, and ritual serve a similar function, more by subverting the mind to accept without question the established scheme of things than by directly indicating desirable forms of response. Often they arrogate to themselves the supposed approval of the supernatural power. In this way they coerce men by stimulating the fear of the unknown.

Above all, such forms of social control constitute law, with physical force behind it to compel men to observe the prescribed rules of conduct. Although law is an inflexible form of social control, it must include the sanction of the less imperative commands or it will remain ineffective. Law which lacks the approval of public opinion, or violates folkways, customs, and conventions cannot be consistently enforced. The nineteenth century witnessed the attempt and the failure to reform men by law.

But the last century brought more subtle means of social control, education and propaganda. Education which drills minds to accept certain ideas, and propaganda which endeavors to convert

Folkways**Tabus****Conventions****Traditions****Laws****Education
Propaganda**

**"The
Closed
Mind"**

men to similar beliefs, if effective, represent the acme of social controls. It has already been suggested that the present phase of the struggle for power is to secure by these means a domination over men's thinking. Even reason itself may be prostituted by such subtleties to serve selfish interests. Such education and propaganda aim to create the closed mind; and the closed mind, when it accepts the existing scheme of things, is the best of all social controls. For it, "Whatever is, is right." It lacks the willingness to undertake or to permit the revision of the social controls. For most men to say that an act is "moral" or "natural" or "scientific" or "ethical" or even "legal" is to stop abruptly all further questioning as to its worth or propriety. Such words effect automatically the closing of most minds. The closed mind, although it is an attribute of the average man and the special prerogative of the reactionary, is also the pride of the fanatic, the curse of the crank, and the blight of the radical. Although it does not make all of these persons the unreasoning defenders of the existing order, it does make them irrational in their thinking. All are quite like the scientists whom Gulliver discovered on the flying island of Laputa. With one eye turned inward to the heart and the other outward toward the zenith, and with their ears tuned to the music of the spheres, these scientists were so wrapped in philosophic meditation that to attract their attention to any immediate situation it was necessary to stroke their sense organs with air-filled bladders. But one can pound on an anvil and not arouse the closed mind. One should not be too severe, however, for there is an opposite extreme, open minds, so open that the refuse of the Augean stables can be lost in their abysses. A fixed attention is no worse than a lack of attention; one is the bane of the closed mind, the other that of the too open mind; and both types are useless for critical or constructive thinking.

And who in these days of fantasies and complexes would attempt to describe the sane mind? For men in the mass, social sanction is the sole determinant of rightness, or of sanity. He who dares to oppose such sanctions or approvals risks at least his good reputation and may suffer ostracism or death. If at some later date the world decides that he suffered in a good cause, he may receive a martyr's crown. Moral courage is nothing more than individual strong-headedness in support of a personal concept of right in opposition to social disapproval. Stubbornness in a right cause is a great virtue; otherwise it is plain "bull-headedness." Truth, justice, and goodness, whatever their abstract pure forms may be, are effective in human behavior only in the forms for which there are social approvals. New knowledge, inventions, and ideas must be accepted by the group before they can become

established and legitimate bases for action. The individual invents, but society selects and preserves. This final authority of the group over action insures social unity at the cost of individual expression. In the continuous refinements of human relations the social process precipitates judgments, and holds men fast to their commands. It is the task of the social sciences to assist this refinement with scientific observation and decision so that future precipitates may embody more of reason's gold and less of folly's dross. The sum total of all social sanctions and disapprovals of forms of behavior organize an "established order" of society.

"The Established Order"

From one point of view the social process is the effort of eagerly striving life to find an expression within this structure of controls, while from another point of view it is the holding of anarchic energies to permissible forms of behavior, but from the larger view it is the continuous reshaping of these controls. Laws, morals, ethics, and social values, in their evolution, exhibit the shifting forms and ideals of established social orders.

Every culture is essentially a body of social controls. Every social problem is a straining at some limitation on behavior. Social change is achieved only by the modification of these limitations, and social unity is maintained on the new basis by another set of controls. Indeed, the institutional organization of society is only the functioning of life under the forms of social control.

It is evident that the raw material of society—individual behavior—is not the free expression of personal tendencies and choices. By the social process, it is organized into well established forms. Indeed, much behavior is response to suggestions by others, "on the spur of the moment," and lacking, therefore, any rational sanction by the individual. Crowds and mobs show the effect of direct associations upon personal behavior to a full advantage. In them personal judgment is reduced to a minimum, and the members act in a unison of opinion and effort. Men find in the mass a sanction and a release which frees them from controls which as individuals they would hesitate to violate. College yelling, congregational singing, and military parading generate enthusiasms and inspire actions which no one person could experience or undertake. Men acting in the mass, through direct contacts, lose their identity, and thus their behavior becomes collective, *i. e.*, men act alike, and in the like-activity find a satisfaction and a sanction for so doing. In crowds and mobs men generate, by their direct contacts, new sanctions and approvals under which they act temporarily. This effect of crowd and mob stimulation upon personal behavior only exhibits the influence which all forms of social control exert over the individual. Indeed, social control

Collective Behavior

makes all behavior more or less collective. The force of "precedent" in determining legal points is drawn from the fact that behavior is collective as well as personal. In the play of fashions may be seen the rapid flow of collective behavior. War scares and panics are similar manifestations. The quieter following of folkways, tabus, conventions, customs, and traditions accomplish the same identity of action among the members of a culture-group. In fact, all individual behavior is collective in form or in sanction. The responses of the organism in general are patterned by the inborn traits, but are organized for the individual into habits, which in turn are shaped after the pattern-ideas or social controls carried in the culture of his group.

Above all, in the censure or praise of his fellows exist the deterrents or stimulations to forms of response. That adjustment to the environment by which life is maintained is an articulation of the individual behavior with the group adjustment. Men in the mass dominate man, and there is no escape from the domination. There is no individual liberty to do as one pleases without restraint. Liberty, if it is to be defined at all, must be defined as doing those things which do not, in effect, deny others the opportunity to do the same things. All other activity is license or crime. The difficulty is to draw the line between those acts which do not deny this opportunity to others, and those which do, or to draw the line between those acts which injure others and those acts which do not. Just as truth, justice, and goodness, insofar as they are effective in human life, are established by social definition, so is liberty described. The limitations within which a person may act are set up by society. Developing culture, as it has made social contacts more numerous, and thereby increased the chances for the denial of opportunity to others and of doing injuries to them, has complicated the drawing of exact lines. Drunken Tam O'Shanter riding his nag away from the fury of pursuing evil spirits was not especially dangerous to anyone, but Tam in an automobile becomes a public menace. This is the crux of the question involved in the eighteenth amendment as an invasion of personal liberty. In the days of riding horses and stage coaches people could escape the drunken rider or driver, but in these days of locomotives, street cars, and automobiles the liquor-drinking engineer, motorman, or driver is a danger to every person who is near his activity. The significance of this controversy for the present discussion is its pertinence to the assertion that liberty, license, and crime, instead of being final and absolute forms of behavior which men by their reason can discover, are, on the contrary, social relations determined by the life of men under a cul-

ture; and as the relations are altered through the operation of the historical process, they require and receive constant redefinition.

Man receives through social stimulation his chief excitations to activity; he finds in social organization a control over these activities; and finally he achieves in the social conflict and coöperation arising from these activities, the realization of his interests. The social process exists by virtue of associating personalities, but these in turn reflect its shaping power. There is an action and reaction between the two, for man's nature provides the energies of process and personality alike. The identity of "self" and "society" is made dynamic in this merging of individual activity in collective behavior. Man moves with humanity; the American moves with his nation.

Present opinion holds that the early ancestors of men were gregarious. Already, therefore, this identity of self and society had come to be; and likewise, among them were the social stimulation, interaction, conflict and coöperation which whet minds and draw out abilities. Present society is the product of an evolution from these beginnings, and as such has been achieved by the extension of mutual aid within the group, and an expansion of the group itself. Both extension and expansion have come with cultural accumulation, a fact which emphasizes the full importance of culture in the determination of the general conditions of life. A review of the course of this evolution reveals that stimulation has been continuously intensified, interaction quickened, conflict broadened, and coöperation fertilized. At the same time, the review indicates that with each acceleration of the social process have come a heightening of mental activity, new tensions upon the individual and society, and new forms of coöperation, which in their reacting effects have integrated more firmly the self and society. In turn, from this integration have issued further spurs to social interaction. Indeed, as the elemental energies of the historical forces drive men to action, there is the continuous transformation of the entity of life both in its constituency and its organization. These transformations mark the course of social evolution.

To the ancestors of men survival was possible only through mutual aid. They lived in direct contact groups. In the excitement of the primitive horde the finest instrument of coöperation, the spoken word, was forged. It, in turn, sharpened reason to a keen edge. And the two, in the form of language and rational responses, gave to the social process its human form. Language gathered into itself the experiences of the generations. By making possible the sending of messages it added indirect contacts to the immediate associations within the group. By this whipping

**The Con-
tinuity of
Social
Evolution**

**The Ac-
celeration
of the
Social
Process**

up of life, tensions were placed upon men which moved them to make inventions and discoveries. As a result of these inventions and discoveries men found their abilities directed by selection into the services of the first occupations, cultivation and craftsmanship, and into the services of the first professions, religious ministration and military leadership. Through this extension of mutual aid by the division of labor settled community life became possible. The birth of commerce added more indirect contacts, and its growth drew a few away from the quiet routine of the agricultural village into the "madding crowd" of the city. This event was critical in the development of civilization, for the stimulated life which resulted generated two new forms of coöperation, written language and law. The former increased the indirect contacts; the latter, by marking the channels of action, gave a greater order and freedom to enterprise. In turn, the lines of conflict were extended from blood-groups to culture-groups, and a leisure class, devoted to wielding power but free to choose and to innovate, was created. Among its members was born critical thinking. Such were the chief phases of the social process in ancient times. The Roman conquests united these civilizations, but the instrument of unification was force, a weapon which lost its effectiveness when it fell into weak hands and was futile to prevent a falling back into local divisions. The great gain was the germination of the sentiments of altruism which through their fruition in Christianity recognized the essential humanity of all men. And no considerable changes came until late in the Middle Ages when by the expansion of commerce and a new growth of cities, life again was given the lash. Nationality and the political state came as new instruments of coöperation. The former was a consciousness of group unity, *i. e.*, the individual's realization of his existence in relation to a definite body of men within the general mass of humanity; the latter was an effective organization to serve this unity. Both emerged from the richer social life of the cities as the creation of the bourgeoisie, which, in its commercial interests, transcended the local communities where the interests of lords, priests, and serfs centered. At the same time the invention of printing spread the meaningful word, and world commerce aroused the impulses of adventure and imagination. From this expansion of social interaction, in the multiplying of direct contacts in the continued growth of cities and of indirect contacts in the revival of learning and world commerce, came that sharpening of the intellect by the scientific method. With these accelerations the social process gathered its modern speed. The full effects, however, were not evident until the invention of machinery universalized mutual aid, and until the French Revolution shattered the old

social order based on rural isolation, by raising up one begot by the "madding crowd." This new order was established in a firmer nationalism, which was an identification of the political state with the personnel of the nation through legally established rights of individual expression, and in an assertion of the essential equality of persons. Down until the eighteenth century at least nine-tenths of the world's population lived in the relative isolation of the rural village. The revolutionary factor in modern life has been the drawing of approximately half of the people of western Europe and the United States into cities. Steam navigation and transportation, electric communication, high speed printing, and cheap postal service urged the social process to its present pace. Now the telephone, the automobile, the movie, the airplane, and the radio increase beyond all past conception the ease and the area of social stimulation and interaction.

The list of contacts in an American city reveals the skeleton of the living social process. It exists in the behaviors of present human beings and for Americans moves at its greatest speed.

Under modern culture diverse and intense stimulations flow into the mind. People are "on the go," and excitement is continuous. At the same time the monotony of labor in machine industry, both of the factory and the office, arouses the appetite for diversion. For the multitude cheap amusement is the only release from boredom. The "gay white way" of the metropolis is reduplicated a thousand times in the brilliance of electrified "main-streets." Men are pulled hither and yon by blatant invitations to enjoy and to forget. They go, dazed and blasé, from one thrill to another. Suggestion hurls them after new devices, from "put and take" to "mah jong" and then to cross-word puzzles. Their heads whirl in the giddy spin of fashions. That standardization of dress, ideas, opinions, and morals, which so many critics of present life decry, is but the inevitable expression of the surfeited mind. But all this is the reverse side of the medal. City life offers to the thinking mind an inexhaustible supply of raw materials. The strange mingles with the common. Sharp contrasts shock the attention. And from such stimulations always have come ideas. The very suggestibility and conventionality of the city mind makes for an ease in the expression and acceptance of them. The radical, the eccentric, and the crank find a refuge in the diversity of ideas which in itself breeds toleration of opinions. Ancient men learned to live with strangers, but modern men are learning to live with strange ideas. For the average mind there is never quite the sweet satisfaction that "all is well," and for the closed mind there are blows that threaten to blast its solidity,

while for the thinking mind there is the food of the gods—stimulations and ideas. Modern city life is an acid on the pattern-ideas of traditional culture. Furthermore, it calls forth certain qualities of behavior, which on their psychological side are mental attitudes, such as tact and diplomacy. These are necessary to quick life among many men. Altogether the influence of contemporary city life—the accelerated social process—upon the mind and finally upon behavior is to create an excess of both good and evil. The cold-nosed puritan stands beside the libertine. Staid respectability lifts her skirts to avoid the gutter's filth. New ideas bawl from bill-boards and soap boxes. Reaction lolls in leisure and comfort, while revolution slinks in harsh need and strides in hot desire. The present social process makes men excitable, subject to whim; conventional, yet responsive and tolerant as well.

**Social
Conscious-
ness**

And it does more. It has already been pointed out that the growth of language induced rational thought, that ancient city life produced critical thinking, and that early modern life created the scientific method. Each acceleration of the social process has, therefore, enhanced mental activity and refined its precision. The great result of the recent acceleration has been in line with these achievements—the result is the generation of what is known as “social consciousness.” In this new mental attitude there is the realization by the individual of his personal existence and dependence as a member of society. The question raised by ancient altruism “Am I my brother's keeper?” is now answered in the affirmative. The “we-group” is larger than it was, and the “we-feeling” is stronger. But at the same time the “I-me” existence is widened. Men think of themselves in reference to other men; there is the extension of that identity of self and society wherein life itself is realized. The great difference between modern man and any of his forebears is this enlarged concept of his place in the scheme of things, physical and social alike. The physical and biological sciences light up the vistas of the development and present state of the material universe. The social studies describe the unity and complexity of human development and existence. But above all, the multitude of stimulations and contacts afford a concrete basis for this enlarged concept in minds untaught in any of these subjects. Social consciousness is, indeed, the creation and significance of the recent acceleration of the social process. At once larger and more finely etched, this concept of man's relation to men is the most potent factor now operating for further social evolution. Those earlier heightenings of mental efficiency—rational thought, the critical attitude, and the scientific method—are now guided in their labors at the adjustment of life to its so-

cial and environmental conditions by this greater view of the interdependence and integration of self with society.

In this new view of his relation to men, man finds the conditions which distress him to be more and more numerous. Poverty, ignorance, and disease are conditions of life as old as the ken of man, but only in the last century did he come to look upon them as problems. It is a long mental jump from a thinking of such evils as the works of the devil or as punishments delivered by a just God upon a sinning humanity to a description of them as conditions which men ought to remove from among themselves. At the same time that these conditions were envisaged as problems, additional stresses were placed upon man and society. The abrasive effects of direct contacts upon established social controls are evident in the vagaries of crowd and mob behavior. And the truth is that this recent acceleration of the social process, of which social consciousness is one fruit, throws men more and more into associations like these direct contact groups. One ventures the assertion that the "madding crowd" becomes more "madding." The second fruit of the stimulated social life is the stretching and breaking of the age-old social controls. The liberation of women is an emphatic example of such effects. In these revelations and stresses are experienced the facts of life which men call "social problems." They are, of course, in the first instance, the maladjustments which exist between the original natures of men, their culture, and the physical environment. Social problems are the "growing pains" of society under the historical process. Thus they have three roots: man's relation to the physical environment, his relation to biological endowment, and his relation to the social heritage. But the problems grow from all roots at once: from the first spring those incidental to the utilization and depletion of natural resources; from the second arise those relative to the number, composition, and quality of a population, together with those of immigration and race; from the third come those pertaining to the social institutions and practices as they thwart, indulge, or annoy the elements of original nature. Concretely these maladjustments exist in human behavior as distresses and conflicts. Among all such harassing conditions, the critical problems of present life appear to be, first, the excessive breeding of the inferior biological strains, which augments poverty, disease, crime, and insanity; second, the discomfiture of men in machine industry, which appears, on the one hand, as demands for better living conditions and a redistribution of economic goods and powers, and, on the other hand, as intemperance and superficiality; third, the renovation of the traditional culture by the use of scientific knowledge and methods—a renovation now going on in the woman's movement, educa-

tional growth, religious controversy, economic reorganization, and political innovations; fourth, war—chiefly the question of organizing peace among the white nations; and fifth, the determination of the relations of these white nations to the colored peoples. If social consciousness lights the way of social change, these problems are the sign posts that point its directions.

**Social
Reform**

To meet these problems men's original natures must receive new expressions, their ideas must be set in new forms, and their behavior must be organized in new modes. From the stimulated social life of the growing cities came the social consciousness which revealed the dependence of man upon his fellows, and the lesson of this revelation is that in finding solutions to the social problems the relations of man to men, and *vice versa*, must be reshaped. Indeed, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are unique for what are known as "social reforms." The very existence of such movements as democracy, humanitarianism, public education, sanitary and public health services, liberation of women, child welfare work, eugenics agitation, peace organization, temperance, and socialism depend, in the first instance, upon a clear experience of the interdependence of men in society, and, in the second instance, upon the conscious interest in relieving distresses that are recognized as arising from such relations. What possible meaning could these movements have to people whose mental confines were the house-tops of a rural village or the crests about a mountain valley? Social reform movements are the responses which men give to the conditions of life which they experience as distressing. These reform movements have been set up in the quickened life of the cities and they go forward as these cities grow.

**The
Social-
ization
of the
Individual**

From the point of view of social evolution these movements mean the emergence in human behavior of new forms of social coöperation. A glance at the list of these movements clears this point. In fact, the outstanding feature of contemporary life is the growth of social coöperation. It is not necessary to describe again the great unconscious coöperations—the divisions of labor in machine industry and the rapid flow of information and ideas through the means of communication, or the great conscious coöperations organized by the recently belligerent nations. Perhaps it is pertinent to suggest in connection with these, that survival is still through mutual aid. But more important from the point of view of social evolution than any of these coöperations, are those which men are establishing in their conscious efforts to realize their diverse interests. The corporation, the association, the league, the committee, the convention, the conference, and the campaign are universal types of such new mutual aids. Is there any interest which they have not been made to serve? From language to law,

from law to the political state, and from the political state to these functional coöperations, there has been a steady intensification of conscious mutual aid. As these instruments of coöperation are employed to further social reforms (and in this they have been quite effective), the adjustments by which life is maintained, and in being maintained its social organization transformed, are made. Thus social evolution goes forward.

Man's original nature has remained the same, but the pressure of society upon him has constantly increased—a condition which has subjected him to various stresses, driven him to numerous exertions, and refined his responses and satisfactions. In this growth of social coöperation that identity of self and society has become greater and more real, *i. e.*, a keener experience to the individual. Furthermore, in it he has found the finer use of his energies, and greater opportunities for self-development. Thus always the evolution of society has advanced through the socialization of the individual. It has already been suggested that every great era of cultural achievement has been incidental to a further release of individual energies. Here, at the conclusion of this survey of social evolution, it should be seen that these releases have arisen from an intensification of social interaction and have resulted in the organization of greater coöperations: the broader the basis of social activity, the higher the apex of individual personality. Man has realized himself only as he has realized humanity. The socialization of the individual is the fruit of social stimulation and interaction. The modern world carries intensifications of each in the conditions of its life.

Social evolution is a fact and in all these forms—accelerated social process, social consciousness, social problems, social reforms, social coöperation, and socialized individuals—it goes forward today. But men talk of “progress”? The two are not the same. The former is the development of life in its social phase from primitive huddling to present functional coöperation, from the primitive horde to the modern nation; the latter is the assertion that in some fashion or other life in its forms, content, expressions, and satisfactions is better than in the past. That life is better, *i. e.*, that life is more moral, just, humane, and altruistic, and therefore nearer perfection than in earlier ages, is the meaning of progress. Manifestly the fact of social evolution can be true without there having been any approach to perfection. For what is perfection? The very idea calls for a fixed and final form of existence, a condition which all knowledge of life denies. Men have found things good and desirable. The growth of social values exhibits the heaping up of these things, and the contradictions and denials which exist among them. But because men have found

**Social
Evolution
and
Social
Progress**

them good, does that make them so? Which color of the spectrum is the most beautiful? What are the criteria of progress? The modern world has found material wealth, growth of population, increase of comforts, the overthrow of privileges, and the expansion of power to be its manifestations. But there are those who protest that only spiritual, moral, æsthetic, and immaterial things have any real value. This is not the place to ask the sphinx's riddle and to find a clever answer. It is true that life under the forces of the historical process has been transformed, but that life has been improved is an assertion which at most only flatters human vanity. All that can be said, insofar as present knowledge extends, is that there has been a passing of men from primitive life to the present complexity, and that its present state indicates a further transformation.

One can affirm or deny progress. Men do. There appears to have been an expansion of the opportunities to express abilities and to achieve satisfactions, but this cannot be taken to mean that the expressions and satisfactions have become better or in any way more perfect. Man's dreams hang low like clouds on the horizon, and then pile high to the zenith; the sun of perfection is hidden somewhere behind them, or is it there at all? Man does not know. Perfection, and his destiny to achieve it, man must take on faith. The idea of progress is this faith, and social evolution offers little support to the idea. A close inspection of its course reveals that this immense and complex present, although it grew out of the past, was not absolutely determined at any prior time. Life has always wavered between chaos and organization, between conflict and coöperation, between distresses and satisfactions. A study of the great social transitions indicates that what has come to be, has been the result of many conflicts, the issues of which have hung in the balance, and which in outcome were determined by trifling incidents and factors. The variability of the rôles of the historical forces precludes any steady, continuous, and eternal advance toward perfection.

But this very uncertainty of things is man's opportunity. Culture is his creation. In these inventions, discoveries, and departures he has organized the present expression of original nature and won the present mastery over the physical environment. At present he is learning that in these same inventions, discoveries, and departures he has organized his social relationships. It is this knowledge which incites him to social reforms, and offers to him the prospect of a new social order. At best he can organize into his life those qualities and attributes which he believes to be valuable. Their relativity to perfection he may guess, but this need not affect his efforts to realize their existence in his life. Upon the na-

tive urges he may impose new social controls, over physical nature he may exert a firmer power, and from these two sovereign acts he may establish in his behavior the new relationships that will provide the satisfactions which he may accept as desirable. Man may have that kind of society in which he is willing to live. But in the realization of any social order the limitations of his origin and development will intrude. Man cannot go beyond himself. He cannot go beyond humanity.

It is well to remember what man is. The biologists see him as the end-product of an evolutionary series beginning at that instant when life appeared on earth. The psychologists analyze him into an indefinite number of inborn traits and impulses which describe his activity and limit his behavior. The historians find him a product of distinct experiences in the past, from which in his present form he has received definite types of behavior. The sociologists view him as a group of responses to other beings like himself, serving his interests with their support or resistance, and realizing himself only in their favor or disapproval. The philosophers exhibit him as a maker of values and a pursuer of ideals, attaining in them the true content of being. And man laughs. Perhaps that is the best thing he does. The truth is that he transcends both analysis and synthesis. As a modern prophet puts it, "Mankind is as a meteor in the vast expanse of slow creation." But one must see man in the light of modern knowledge, opinion, and faith. Concretely, he must be recognized as a bundle of energies and desires which pattern his behavior, but which have received their present form in the quick development from infancy under a culture in which are carried the ways and means of living surviving from the ages. And all this development is local and variable insofar as the single person is concerned. Above all, his tenacity to the ordinary and familiar must be asserted. He abhors change, he detests advice, he resists compulsion. On the other hand, he succumbs to suggestion, runs after flattery, and bows down to prestige. As a personality he is unique and extraordinary, but in a group he is hardly recognizable from the many who exert over him the powers of social control. First and last he is a social being, both in creation and in existence.

Man and
Humanity

And in the end one must see the many, for in them only can he see man.

One billion eight hundred millions of men find their life, in this day upon this earth. They find warmth beneath the same sun, they draw breath from the same air, they take water from the same depths. O millions, O millions—O one!—O, I: what is my vanity, what is my greed, what is my shame, love, lust,

wealth, or power? Who am I who sits in a high place? Who am I who bows the head and bends the knee? O many—life of the same life, death in the same death—millions! you are one: the crest of the wave, the blast of the wind, the now-part of the eternal urge. One is many, many are one. The one—the “I” of the billion ones—is a unit of being, a personality seeking self-expression. Seek it with wealth, seek it with prayers, seek it with whitened skulls—magnate, priest, head-hunter; the blower of trumpets, the singer of melody, the maker of jazz; each is a personality seeking to express that part of being which is in him, each according to his own time, his own station, and his own place. The millions are counted of many such ones, yet the millions are one—the mass of humanity which lives this day upon this earth.

Low and high, meek and proud, rich and poor, sinner and saint, the millions rank and file. Mount the throne, O king! raise your scepter, speak your words. Mighty is the living law. O kings! you are few. Bend the back to the weight of the load, turn the face to the freezing blast, sear the skin at the furnace's edge; count the pennies, haggle the price, measure the bread—these are the many. Others, ever others—maid of the painted cheek, youth of the greased hair, warrior with the ringed tattoo, savage with the filed teeth—paste the curl to the brow, weigh the ear with conches; silk and choice cloth, ochre and raw clay—others, ever others, weave patterns upon the curtain of life that hangs between the eternities. Blotched with yellow, daubed with black, smeared with brown, run through with white, the living curtain hangs. The millions grade upward and downward through the scale of existence. Sit your moment, count your vanities, caress your loves: you are of this many; go and do likewise, for you, too, are of the many. This many—cut apart, crossed and dispersed, fearful, hateful, murderous—are one: living mass-humanity.

The mills of the gods grind slowly. Know you that they do grind. And the grist in the mill is man, common man, living mass-humanity: Denizens of the river valleys, the ascending hills, and the risen mountains; seething multitudes where the roaring cities pile; strangers in the far lands; slaves, all, to the niggard soil: Common man, mass-humanity—laughing children in the blooming fields, idle lovers beneath the moon-blazed sky, stricken parents at the new-dug grave, wrecked derelicts of the life-flowing years; vagabond, harlot, crime-hardened male; praying virgins, swearing monks; fops and dandies, flirts and floosies; sober, cultured, prudish dames; clever, law-abiding profit-takers: Common man, mass-humanity—muck of the mire, dust, and clod, grist in the mills of time; crowned with the cap and bells—the blight of their follies,

ankled with the ball and chain—the curse of their vices; seekers and dreamers: Warped and twisted, turned and brazed, vulgar, jovial, happy; unknowing, unlearned, untaught; generous, kindly, honorable; stupid, ignorant, brutish: The sons and daughters of the life-filled earth, masters of the widest seas, diggers of the deepest pits, soarers of the upper air—praying, slaying, brow-sweating mass-humanity: God or no gods, the mills of time grind inexorably, and ever their grist is man.

In the words of Anatole France, "Man made the good. It is a little good, but it is his work." And in that good he has achieved individuality only as he has realized humanity. As this realization deepens, he may add to his creation.

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 Chaps. 10, 11, 12, Social response.
- Case. Chap. 20, Sub-social processes.
 Chap. 21, Socialization of the individual.
- Park and Burgess. Chap. 3, Society and the group.
 Chap. 5, Social contacts.
 Chap. 6, Social interaction.
 Chap. 7, Social forces.
 Chap. 8, Competition.
 Chap. 9, Conflict.
 Chap. 10, Accommodation.
 Chap. 11, Assimilation.
 Chap. 12, Social control.
 Chap. 13, Collective behavior.
- Allport. Chap. 14, Social adjustment.
- Case. Chap. 27, Social coöperation.
 Chap. 30, Group expansion.
- Parsons. Chap. 2, Historic elements in the modern social problem.
 Chap. 4, Definition of the social problem.
 Chap. 6, Remote and immediate causes of social problems.
 Chap. 7, Social friction and maladjustment.
 Chap. 23, The modern movement for social betterment.
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